Political inclusion and representative claim-making in participatory governance

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Publication date:
2011

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Citation for published version (APA):
Marochi, B. I. (2011). *Political inclusion and representative claim-making in participatory governance*. Roskilde Universitet.

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Case studies from Birmingham and Copenhagen

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PhD Thesis no. 64/2010
ISSN nr. 0909-9174
Department of Society and Globalisation
Roskilde University, 2010

Contents

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgement is in a way bigger than knowledge. After my Master thesis, many people recommended I should o go into the 'real world'. I did not listen and I can assure that there is nothing neither more real nor worldlier than writing a PhD thesis at Roskilde University and University of Birmingham. I have been extraordinarily fortunate to have Eva Sørensen as my supervisor at Roskilde University. Her dedication and responsiveness inspired me since the beginning of the process. Tough yet gentle, rigorous yet flexible, Eva has guided me not only when I was swimming in the research process, but also as I was hiking a cold Norwegian mountain above the Arctic Circle. My deepest gratitude also goes to the stimulating *duet* of co-supervisors at University of Birmingham, Chris Skelcher and Jenny Phillimore, who gave me direction and support through fortnightly meetings during my 18-month visit to Birmingham.

Collective thanks are also due to all the people that have read my drafts and given me valuable comments, contributing to my work. Comments from Henrik Wagenaar, Mark Warren, Steven Griggs, Michael Saward, Aletta Norval, David Howarth were amongst the most influential and memorable. Special thanks to Martin Marcussen who read, evaluated and commented on every article and chapter.

My colleagues at the Centre for Democratic Network Governance at Roskilde University deserve my deepest thanks. Through luncheons down the hallway, seminars on campus, courses abroad or conferences in remote Danish towns, they have supported my work giving my valuable comments and criticisms that, many but not all, I took onboard. Special thanks are warranted to Jacob Torfing, director of the centre, whose intellectual sharpness and constant energy have been a deep source of motivation.

I also thank Annika Agger, Sevie Chatzoupoulou, Karl Løfgren, Michael Strange, Peter Triantafillou and the other faculty for providing enjoyable company, stimulating discussions and for making great colleagues through the best and worst times. Thanks to Randi, Naja and Claus and all the other PhD students who contributed to the bright environment and special thanks to Radmila Rasmussen, also a friend, whose sensitivity and passion can melt any soul and who helped me throughout, keeping the discussions alive.

At the University of Birmingham, I would like to first thank Stephen Jeffares for caring about my research and introducing me to Balsall Heath. Most importantly, I'd like to thank Tatum Matharu for being such a good colleague, a great travel partner and an even better friend. After all the action, adventure and drama scenes with Tatum, our film is a real Bollywood romantic comedy.

Thanks to all my friends for providing distraction. In this respect, I thank Lucia and Karina in Brazil, Susanna in Canada, Maya, David, Birgitta, Nadja, Peter & Co. in Denmark, Joy, Rend and Holly in the US and other dozens of friends all over the world. Special thanks to Nabil for the challenging discussions and for his patience and attention throughout the research.

Finally I thank those who always supported me unconditionally: my family. Despite the ocean and thousands of miles between us, I always felt the warmth of their proximity. I am grateful to my father Carlito. Also to my aunt Ana, who has a PhD in Anatomy from Unifesp and a PhD in patience and devotion from life. I am truly indebted to my stepfather Richard Kennedy who always trusts my choices with the highest encouragement, and mostly indebted to my mother Dirce, my best friend, my #1 fan and life supervisor.

Part I: Frame

Chapter 1: Introduction

Political inclusion is a core ingredient in democratic recipes. The mechanisms for political inclusion of peoples, interests, opinions and views are a matter of contestation. Scholars and practitioners argue that political inclusion should exclusively take place through channels of representative democracy while others argue political inclusion should take place through channels that ensure stakeholder involvement in more problem-oriented participatory governance processes. Democratic theorists of today are currently discussing the prospects and problems in these latter kinds of channels. This debate of participatory governance arenas, however, has not sufficiently addressed the role of another core ingredient of democracy: the concept of representation. Representation is crucial to understanding political inclusion since actors make representative claims to be stakeholders and affected by policies to participate in these governance processes. The theoretical and empirical puzzles lead to the question of how political inclusion happens through representative claim-making in participatory governance.

Investigating the role of participatory governance as an enhancer for political inclusion springs out from two points: the current disenchantment of representative democracy (Stoker, 2006) and the surge of participatory forms of governance throughout the globe. These initiatives bring together citizens, politicians, civil society organizations, private businesses and public administrators in collaborative governance processes aiming to solve particular governance problems. A growing number of scholars claim these governance arenas can promote governance effectiveness and democratic inclusion thought the promotion of resource exchange (Sørensen & Torfing 2009) and democratic ownership (Skelcher & Torfing 2010) and stakeholder empowerment (Fung & Wright 2003). Many practitioners at the local level, national and transnational level support such claims. Schemes such as the participatory budget in Porto Alegre, the surge of neighborhood councils in Los Angeles and participatory arenas in Kerala in India are success stories that bring light to the potentials of involving stakeholders in decision-making processes. Scholars constantly debate how these new mechanisms of political inclusion affect the quality of democracy.

A core question is whether participatory governance places political power in the hands of the strong and capable actors or can provide a channel for the rarely-heard voices in representative democracy. In this debate, the role and functioning of political representation as a mechanism of political inclusion in participatory governance processes has received little attention. The debate tends to rest on the assumption that representation is relevant for the institutions of representative democracy but is less relevant for participatory governance processes that are perceived to take the form of direct democracy. This dissertation, however, claims, that representation plays a crucial role in participatory governance processes, and a failure to understand and study this role impedes the understanding of problems and potentials of participatory governance arenas as a platform for political inclusion.

The need for participatory governance and the new forms of representation originate from promises of democratic theories. Institutions of representative democracy have failed to live up to the promise heralded by theories of liberal democracy that all those affected by a decision have a say in what that decision should be - either directly through participation in the decision making process or by appointing representatives who do so. At the end of the 20th century several criticisms have been raised against representative democracy for being unable to represent all the voices heard, and not

least for leaving out the voices of the marginalized and less empowered. Participatory governance arenas are worthy of note because they offer themselves as a means to include and represent these voices.

Whether participatory governance is capable of deepening democracy or not is a common debate among theorists of democracy. Astute democratic theorists debate the positive consequences of governing outside traditional representative institutions. Fung & Wright (2003) in their 'Deepening Democracy' book argue participatory modes of governing can contribute to achieve a deepened empowered democracy. Supporters argue participatory governance can include voices of the affected (March & Olsen 1995, Sørensen & Torfing 2007), open spaces for democratic debate (Hajer 2005, Newman 2006), empower citizens (Stoker 2007, Hendriks 2008), relieve oppression of marginalized groups (Phillips 1995, Young 2000) and even solve social problems (Kymlicka 2000, Young 2001, Newman 2006).

Skeptics worry that old patterns of exclusion can linger and new patterns can emerge in participatory modes of governing. Theorists such as Young (2000) and Dryzek (2000) have stressed the potential problems of exclusion in this mode of governing. Traditional problems of exclusion and inequalities in modern societies can be replicated within these modes of governing. Oppressed groups could have difficulties in having their voices heard due to lack of resources and skills (Dryzek 2000). Some argue that these arenas favor participation of individuals who know the rules of the game, and 'usual suspects' (Agger and Løfgren 2009), not necessarily bringing in new voices and widening the democratic debate. Others argue that participatory governance is endemically exclusionary (Griggs and Howarth 2008) since it unites individuals around one issue, one story, one discourse, excluding alternative stories.

Regarding the question of the insurance of inclusion within participatory governance, authors have made various contributions. Concerns over 'who is in' and 'who is out' are very common in the promotion of inclusion. Some authors have argued for careful process designs such as democratic performance points (Skelcher and Mathur 2005), democratic anchorage (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005) and rules for more inclusive political communication in deliberations and negotiations (Young 2000, Dryzek 2000). Others have advocated for careful selection of participants as crucial for the achievement of inclusion (Smith 2005) These mechanisms are important to the development of attempts to invigorate democracy however, as Young (2000) points out, insiders risk internal exclusion: to have access but suffer marginalization in the deliberative process. Analyses of 'who's present' at the arenas do not explain the process and dynamics of inclusion.

Gaining access and recognition as 'affected' is a political decision in participatory governance arenas. This construction process of 'what' and 'who' should be included and 'how' it should be included is undeniably critical to understanding inclusion and exclusion. Actors in the processes construct who and what is at stake. Thus, a prerequisite for an object (individual, interest, voices) to be included, is to, first, be recognized as a stakeholder.

Theorists who promote inclusion in participatory governance have failed to take the complexities of representation into account. Within participatory governance, representatives of stakeholders have access into the arenas, challenging equality, citizenship and equal access to political life. Actors make claims to represent stakeholders in the arena. Thus, representation is vital to understand inclusion and exclusion within participatory governance since when participating, stakeholders are doing the act of representing others or even themselves. Unproblematizing representation within participation blinds the study of inclusion in participatory governance.

Participatory governance advocates favor stakeholder participation but underplay the vital importance of representation. Traditional understandings of modern representative democracy have influenced studies of participatory governance blurring the importance of their differences. The treatment of direct and representative democracies as two very distinct models has simply blinded our understanding of participation. Empirical political scientists have mastered the complexities of democratic representation and have overemphasized representation as the relationship between the representative and the 'represented'. Studies of participation in interactive governance tend to assume that citizens are a fully identifiable unit of analysis, similar to that of direct democracy. However, a crucial aspect of participation is that any participant is self-representing. Studies of participation have to take into account this act of self-representation. The complexities of representation within democracies linger when understanding participation. The same complications of 'representing' reappear when 'participating'.

Representative claim-making is the means through which the political battles of being recognized play out. Representation is more ubiquitous and dynamic than usually accounted. Esmark explains that many participants claim to represent the affected to gain access (Esmark 2007). Studies of representation have overemphasized representation as the link between the representative and the represented and placed too much emphasis on representation through roles such as trustees, delegate, elected and others. These studies are fruitful but do not equip us to understand what goes on in representation. Representation is a dynamic process of claim-making in which claims have a productive constitutive aspect. Michael Saward's concept of the representative claim is crucial to understand the process of representing (Saward 2006). A representative claim is solely a model in which a subject claims makes claims about an object. The subject and the object might be the same or different. Individuals make claims to represent (I, Joanna, know the interests of my community), or have claims made upon them (Joanna knows the interests of her community). The Michael Saward's concept of representation allows for understanding the process of claim-making in participatory governance.

Representative claims are made in historical and cultural contexts. For example, an elected representative might have his claims more readily acceptable than a non-elected one due to deeply institutionalized value of elections in a democratic society. Some claims are easily accepted and others are hardly familiar. Inclusion therefore, is an end result of recognition of a representative claim. To represent is to perform the act of claim-making. This performative aspect of representation is just as (if not more) important aspect of studies of the complex concept. Little is known about this process of claim-making and inclusion.

Actors in participatory governance arenas form an audience that uses different rules of recognition to allow access into the arena. These rules can change from arena to arena. In Andrew Rehfeld's studies of political representation (2007), he shows audiences create and use different 'rules of recognition' to accept representatives. For him, that is the only way to explain why some non-legitimate representatives become representatives e.g. undemocratically appointed leaders participating in the WTO. Rehfeld's rules of recognition are fruitful to understand recognition within participatory governance. However, Rehfeld focuses on representatives as individuals and doesn't address the crucial aspect of the dynamic process of representing and the potential for internal exclusion that transcends beyond being present. Recognition as a legitimate representative does not lead to equal voice in an arena. Moreover, Rehfeld does not explain when these rules of recognition are used or take place. If recognition is necessary for inclusion, the process of recognizing is vital to understand inclusion and exclusion. Recognition is married to what renders it possible.

This dissertation investigates participatory governance as arenas where representative claims are made and recognized and provides a new way of understanding inclusion and exclusion. More specifically, it explores the linkages between inclusion in (and exclusion from) participatory governance arenas and representation. This qualitative research shows the productive role of representation in the process of inclusion and exclusion through case studies of participatory governance projects in two European neighborhoods. The neighborhood of Balsall Heath in Birmingham, England, promotes the involvement of citizens and the community in the solution of problems such as environment, traffic and anti-social behavior. In Valby, Copenhagen, the Local Committee promotes citizen participation and representation at the local level in the development of neighborhoods plans. Local and city actors consider these initiatives to be successful in promoting public engagement. The departure point is that representative claims produce inclusion.

Interviews, observations and 'shadowing of representatives' comprises the main methods of this dissertation. Focusing on process, rather than outcome of representation, this work traces representative claims of citizens and communities to understand the inclusionary capacity of these participatory processes. Many studies of citizen participation, as well as studies of peoples and immigrations, commit the fallacy of methodological nationalism, focusing on individuals as a whole unit of analysis such as who is present or who constitutes the participants. Moreover, studies of representation have committed a similar fallacy by focusing on roles representatives take on, how representatives act on behalf of constituencies rather than the process of representing. Studies of processes are more dynamic and call for not only interviews, but observations of participatory governance arenas in action as citizens participate and make representative claims. This thesis steps away from these methods of studying citizen participation and focuses on claims individuals make and their productive role. The data from interview and observations is organized in a thematic manner.

Through in-depth comparative case studies, this dissertation provides a new understanding of inclusion through representative claim-making to grasp inclusion in participatory governance arenas.

1.1 Research questions and scope

This thesis explores new grounds for the studies of democratic quality of participatory governance. The main interest is to understand the inclusionary potentials of participatory governance through the lens of representation. Many scholars have stressed the democratic potentials of this form of governing. Many have focused on inclusion and exclusion and many have focused on representation however, not enough have focused on the productive role of representation in creating inclusion. This focus raises and answers theoretical and empirical questions contributing not only towards the field of participatory governance and democracy, but towards the development of the main concepts such as inclusion (exclusion), recognition and representation.

The main research question is the following:

> What role do representative claims play in the production of political inclusion within participatory governance?

This thesis answers an overall inspirational research question that is divided into four research sub-questions that are answered in this frame and the three attached, self-contained articles. Addressing all aspects of such a wide-ranging topic is beyond the scope of the thesis. These papers have each their own contribution to the studies, addressing different topics within the overall inspirational question. The three papers ask these questions:

> I: How is the 'who', the 'what' and the 'how' of inclusion constructed through participatory governance?
>
> II: Can participatory governance arenas provide ways to improve the chances of minority interests?
>
> III: How are representative claims accepted, denied or negotiated within participatory governance?

The first article explores the concepts of inclusion and exclusion in the context of participatory governance. Inclusion is a rarely challenged concept in democracies through various mechanisms and group representation. This article highlights that governance processes offer a space for a more problem-oriented approach to inclusion bringing in new forms of representation. However, gaining access and being a stakeholder is a dynamic process through which representatives can still suffer exclusions. Recognizing the imperfections with any democratic system, a democratization process is the most societies can achieve.

The second article shows how liberal theories of democracy have always been occupied with the question of insurance of minority interests in democratic processes. Various efforts attempt to solve the dilemma that representative democracies cause through allowing majority rule. The article claims that new forms of governance point out new ways of dealing with the issue. However, understanding how minorities are produced in the first place is crucial to this debate. Participatory governance arenas propose to deal with problems of minority interests.

The third article presents empirical cases of representative claims of citizens and communities in neighborhoods in Birmingham and Copenhagen to understand how claim-making, recognition and inclusion happens. The paper focuses on the participatory governance arena as a *locus* for the construction of *who* and *what* should be included and as importantly, *how* this should happen. Within local participatory governance projects in Birmingham and Copenhagen, the arenas create and decide what is to be included and excluded, influencing the types of representative claims from citizens and communities. The cases consist of interviews with governance actors and observations of local meetings. This paper explores the construction process of inclusion and how that impacts the recognition of some claims but not others. Participatory governance arenas use 'rules of recognition' that can differ from democratic norms as long as governance actors agree upon these rules. Some claims have more grip than others and others are not easily recognizable. The process of how claims are made, included or excluded is vital to understand the process of participation within the governance arena. The ability of actors to make more recognizable claims lies in their ability to have the audience recognize the representative claims. These resources are more useful if they are recognized by the audience. This paper shows that representative claims take different paths and shapes depending on the cultural and political background of actors and the goal of the participatory arena.

1.2 Structure of dissertation

After setting the scene to the project, this dissertation will proceed as follows. The second chapter will critically examine approaches to understand stakeholder engagement and the inclusionary capacity of participatory governance, suggesting in particular that they have ignored the process of constituting what has 'stake' and what and who is to be 'included'. Moreover, actors make claims to be representative of stakeholders. Participatory governance therefore, should be studied through not only participation, but also representation.

The third chapter shows why the study of inclusion in participatory governance should happen through the lens of representative claim-making. The recognition of representative claims is the means through which inclusion takes places. The productive constitutive nature of representative claim-making is key to this study. The same chapter will present a model for such study.

The fourth chapter presents the methodology, analytical framework and choice of methods. A detailed explanation for the choice of case studies shows the necessity of micro-analysis of participatory governance arena to understand inclusion. The methodology presents the analytical framework to study representative claim-making within participatory governance. To understand how claims are made, accepted, appraised, rejected, the research explores the two case studies of two participatory governance arenas in two neighborhoods in Birmingham and Copenhagen. The choice of comparative methods and choice of cases are presented.

The fifth and sixth chapters present the participatory governance arenas in Birmingham and Copenhagen respectively. These chapters start introducing the arenas and follow through illustrations of representative claim-making that show the complexity of claim-making in participatory governance. The illustrations show representative-claim moments and analyze if these claims are accepted, negotiated or rejected.

The seventh section presents the analysis of the dissertation. The comparison of both cases of local participatory governance arenas in Birmingham and Copenhagen illuminates that representative-claim making is complex and very context-dependent. Claims have short temporal validity.

The eighth concludes by providing theoretical insight into studies of democracy within participatory governance and empirically demonstrates through in-depth comparative case studies the necessity for micro-analysis of governance in action.

This dissertation investigates how representative claim-making produces political inclusion in participatory governance. Since scholars and practitioners have not addressed this link between political inclusion and representative claim-making, this novel quest invites for an operational definitions of the theoretical perspectives. With an operational perspective, the dissertation empirically investigates through a qualitative study of local participatory governances to produce more knowledge about this link.

Chapter 2: Participatory governance and inclusion

The emergence of participatory governance has incited great hope for democracy since a wide range of actors can participate in the decision-making processes. Across the globe, practitioners and scholars are debating the origins, causes and impacts of participatory governance. Aficionados or opponents, optimists or pessimists discuss participatory governance. Local, national or transnational, these processes produce policies through collaboration between public, private and third sector. Success stories of the effectiveness of this mode of governing have gained popularity in the past decades and contributed to not only the rise of scholarly attention to the subject but also to the promotion of such processes and support for its emergence. This involvement of new actors in the governance process, besides its effectiveness, raises questions of democracy. If participatory governance can be effective, can it also deepen democracy?

The participation of stakeholders in governance processes is often associated with effective policy-making and lately, with democratic potentials. Participatory governance arenas can operate in multi-levels, involving actors from transnational bodies, national and local bodies. Many argue collaborations and negotiations between stakeholder within participatory governance allow for resource exchanges (Sorensen and Torfing 2009), favouring the redistribution of power and resources between levels (Newman 2005). When considering the relationship between stakeholder involvement and effectiveness of policy-making, scholars also debate the democratic potentials of participatory governance. This second generation of studies of governance, that worries about the democratic quality, explores if stakeholder participation brings hope to remedy imperfections of democracy.

Instead of joining the pessimists or rejecters of contemporary modes of governance, this dissertation explores the claim that participatory governance can deepen the democratic quality of societies by showing that these studies have insufficiently explored the process of inclusion in this mode of governing. Without worrying about its effectiveness or efficiency, as a 'new kid on the block' or mainly a 'new name for an old dog', participatory governance still deals with traditional institutions that were never perfect and there cannot be a case of 'too much democracy' (Crozier, Huntington and Watanuki in Togerson 2003).

Stakeholder involvement surges as a potential remedy to imperfections of the democracy and their participation in these processes is key to these democratic accounts. However, scholars are in dispute over the details of stakeholder involvement that hint to a democracy of the 'affected' debate questions such as *when* they should be involved in the decision-making process, *how* and *for what purpose*. Moreover, the democratic consequences also vary: some believe democratic results are immediate while others see their future potentials in the development of empowerment and building capacity. However, both misunderstand the process of inclusion in this mode of governing. Inclusion, despite not necessarily explicitly mentioned, is a concept that runs through most of the debates of democratic quality of participatory governance. However, inclusion is a process that is more complex than usually assumed and discussions of democratic quality of participatory governance commit the same fallacy as studies of traditional representative democracies. Therefore, this chapter explain the necessity for (1) remarking that inclusion is perceived as a means, even if not necessarily explicitly stated, in any democratic quality study, but its complexity is insufficiently comprehended; (2) acknowledging that the act of representing is central to any account of

democracy against what theories of democracy often imperfectly suggest, (3) observe that therefore, inclusion has to be married to the concept of representation to assess democratic quality.

This chapter first presents the origins for participatory governance and next explores how scholars debate the potentials of deepening democracy in participatory governance. After presenting the scholarly debate on the potentials of democracy through participatory governance, the chapter explains why studies of the democratic quality participatory governance have inclusion at their core and moves to argue the need for marrying inclusion to representation when attempting to understand the complex process of inclusion.

2.1 Origins of participatory governance

The term 'participatory governance' gained popularity in the past decades. Governance differs from government and governability. Whereas government hints stability or structures, governability and governance hint action. Governability refers to a state dimension of power exercise and systemic and institutional conditions that characterize the political system. Governability often refers to the institutional architecture whereas governance is associated with the performance of actors. Governance can be the modus operandi of the system and process, rather than static institutions. This action-based term, when modified by the term 'participatory', emphasizes that participation is the means through which governance takes place. The concept of participation is contested since participation in governance tends to manifest in terms of stakeholder participation and collaboration between stakeholders throughout different stages of the decision-making process. Community policing groups in Chicago and local involvement projects in Kerala are among some of these new participatory governance structures that involve different actors such as organizations, community leaders, politicians and citizens in the decision-making processes. Despite different interpretations of participatory governance, the term usually refers to a decentred process of governing society that goes beyond hierarchical decision-making and involves promoting participation of different sectors, stakeholders, citizens and communities.

Participatory governance has been arising from bottom-up, being promoted from top-down and emerging as a product of collaboration but its origins are a topic of debate and dispute. The main contributors to the debates of origins of participatory governance can be grouped as apathetics, skeptics and apologists. Apathetics of governance argue participatory governance is an old phenomenon that has existed for centuries. Anti-slavery campaigns that influenced the state in the 1800s would be one of their examples to show that governance is nothing new and stakeholders could already influence policy-making centuries ago. Long history of social movements that have had influence in society and pressured change also support this claim that participatory governance is anything but new. This rejects the novelty of participatory governance.

A new trend in promoting participatory governance is visible throughout the globe. Transnational organizations such as World Bank and IMF along with other development programs have emphasized the importance of collaboration between sectors and participation of local people in policy-making. According to the World Bank, in the Governance and Development document, in 1992, the definition of governance is the exercise of authority, control, administration, and power of government (World Bank 1992). Precisely, it is a manner of exercising power in the administration of social and economic resources of a country aiming for development. The idea of governance,

mainly ‘good governance’ has become a fundamental requisite for development that incorporates economic growth, equity, social and human rights. States that lack consolidated democratic institutions have been pushed the promotion of local participatory arenas that operate at arm’s length from national government through development programs and attempts to develop democratic thinking. The preoccupation of transnational organizations with governance arenas has shifted away from solely an economic one. On the contrary, many programs aim at developing robust societies, concentrating on empowerment and capacity building of local people.

Skeptics of participatory governance have voiced their disbeliefs and affirm that governance is not only a myth, but mainly it is a form of manipulation that some have found to amplify their powers. For them, governance is solely a new phase of political agenda that promotes Western ideals (Brautigam 1992, Adams & Hulme-Oryx, 2001). Moreover, the rise of neo-liberalism in the 80s and the promotion of diminishing the state and widening society is seen as the origin of a trend of participatory governance. Martin & Ritchie (1999) argue neo-liberal reforms can be enabled through the support of participatory governance and participatory rhetoric.

Apologists of governance argue this mode of governing is a new perspective that sparks from the necessity of change. For this group, collaborations that invite citizens to the decision-maker arenas are taking place in different policy areas as a problem-solving mechanism and democratic legitimacy gain. The apologists of governance base their thinking around the fundament that collaboration is fruitful and/or necessary. For some apologists, governance refers to the state stepping out of total control of economy, allowing private initiatives to care for specific functions, solving cross-cutting problems unsolvable by the market or the state alone. Among the apologists, some see governance purely as managerial since government can simply not do it alone (Hans-Klijn, Sullivan and Skelcher, 2002). Sterling (2006) groups them into the collaborative governance trend. She also points to Geddes and Le Gales (2001) for a territorial governance trend that hopes for a ‘territorialization of policy-making’ and to Healey et al. (2002) for arguing the discontent with hierarchical and sectorally-organized policy-making structures that overlook interactions of policy areas push for decentered governance. Problems are better solved through collaboration for apologists of governance.

Independent from which camp one stands in to judge the origins of participatory governance, inclusion through participation is an important aspect of this form of governing, if it is for problem-solving, creating effective policies or attempting to enhance democracy. Participation is a manner of inviting local knowledge and local resources to the decision-making arena in the case of problem-solving. Moreover, participation is offered as a norm in the quality of democracy. According to the UNESCAP (2010), governance is old but the new element is the focus on ‘good governance’. A measuring parameters of the quality of good governance is participation:

> ‘Participation by both men and women is a key cornerstone of good governance. Participation could be either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives. It is important to point out that representative democracy does not necessarily mean that the concerns of the most vulnerable in society would be taken into consideration in decision making. Participation needs to be informed and organized. This means freedom of association and expression on the one hand and an organized civil society on the other hand.’ (UNESCAP 2010)

This quote illuminates precisely that idea of participation should complement and enhance democracy. The imperfections of traditional representative institutions can be ameliorated through participation. This claim shows that through participation ‘the concerns of the most vulnerable in

society would be taken into consideration' (UNESCAP 2010). The element of inclusion is present in this quote, despite that it is not mentioned. Either direct or through legitimate intermediate institutions or representatives, participation allows for the inclusion of the concerns of the vulnerable.

2.2 Deepening democracy through participatory governance?

If inclusion though participation can ameliorate the imperfections of traditional democratic institutions, can participatory governance serve as a new space for democracy enhancement? Participatory governance surge as a potential remedy for maladies of democracy since it can be a locus for participation of stakeholders. This mode of governing values participation of the affected, challenges democratic norms such as accountability and transparency therefore, triggering scholars to question their democratic legitimacy. However, debates that attempt to reveal opportunities or threats of the democratic quality of participatory governance, depend heavily on an understanding of democratic quality that is insufficient to grasp inclusion in this form of governing.

Traditional representative institutions have not been short of criticism. Despite traditional critiques of representative democracy, many modern critiques have emphasized that there has been 'an illusion of universal suffrage' (Bakunin 1977), highlighting importance of institutional design that support group representation (Kymlicka 1995), allow the presence of difference (Phillips 1995) and promote justice (Young 1990). Problems around nationalism, multiculturalism and citizenship in changing societies have also been highly noticeable. Taylor (1998) explores the dynamics of democratic exclusion, Charles Mills (1997) claims a 'Racial Contract' is continually being rewritten to create different forms of racial polity and Kymlicka (2000) claims there are still core struggles of minorities and indigenous groups for constitutional recognition. As Paper I and II explain, these concerns over access and ownership are largely related to the inadequacies of institutions to accommodate diversity and difference in society. New arrangements that have capacity to for such diversity and difference are sought and participatory governance is seen to offer this potential.

Scholars debate if participatory governance invigorate or threaten traditional democratic institutions. Some scholars are optimist about the democratic capacity of participatory governance, whereas others fear their detrimental potentials. When being tested on democratic quality, governance arenas are often judged on norms of equality, accountability, publicity, equity and coordination with representative institutions (Bogason et al. 2004: 16, Sørensen & Torfing, 2005: 196, Hansen 2005:223, Nyholm & Haveri, 2009: 113). Some scholars argue the impaired quality of such norms within participatory governance can lead to elitism and pose a threat to democratic institutions (Rhodes 1997). On the other hand, collaboration between public authorities, private, third sector appears to contribute to the input and output side of policy. As the stage appears to be wider to accommodate a plurality of actors in the contemporary governance environment, there is a push for the successful inclusion of new actors and new representatives. Young (2000) claims this process could be a window of opportunity for the "affected", the 'hard to reach' and the oppressed to participate in decision-making processes in the traditional forms of representative democracy.

Scholars and practitioners claim a plus sum game between democracy and effectiveness can take place through participatory governance. Citizen fora, deliberative panels, user consultation are in

the repertoire of common ways to promote stakeholder involvement in participatory governance. For many scholars, this inclusion of stakeholders contributes to the effectiveness of policy-making and also the democratic quality of decision-making. Stakeholders are invited (or show up) to the participatory governance arena with the prospect of contributing to the negotiations at different times and with different resources. This inclusion of stakeholders can take many forms such as opinions, perspectives, interests, expert knowledge or local knowledge, according to different point of views. Moreover, inclusion can happen at different stages of the participatory governance process. From inclusion as input, throughput and output, scholars and practitioners see short-term consequences for such inclusions while others focus on long-term consequences.

The idea of 'democracy of the affected' has gained momentum and presupposes that the affected should participate in decision-making processes that affect them. This can happen through participation of representatives claiming to be stakeholders (Esmark 2007), involvement of the most-willing to participate (Sørensen 2002, p.713), hearing the affected situated experiences (Young 2000) and even symbolic participation of the affected (Phillips 1995). Participatory governance can be a productive way to integrate difference and diversity into democratic institutions (Young 1990, Benhabib, 1996, Fraser, 1997). The authors advocate for institutional design that is favourable for deepening democracy and allow for 'ordinary citizens to effectively participate in the shaping of programs and policies relevant to their lives' (Fung and Wright 2001, 2003).

There is a clear disagreement of when to include the 'affected' in participatory governance. Arguments claim thisinvolvement can potentially lead to higher input, throughput and output legitimacy of policy-making processes since contemporary democracies have been less than perfect. Scharpf (1999, pp.10-13) argues the involvement of relevant participants as enhancing input-legitimacy can happen either via direct participation or via representatives. This input can not only contribute to successful problem-solving and decision-making, but also allows for the inclusion actors who might otherwise be excluded (Hendriks 2008). Bekkers and Edwards (2007) argue for the importance of throughout legitimacy referring to qualities of procedures and rules during the decision-making process. Scharpf (2007, 2009) values output legitimacy that refers to problem-solving capacities. Risse and Benz (2006) criticize this idea claiming a combination of input and output legitimacy is necessary for legitimate governance.

Involving the 'affected' can challenge traditional democratic norms of contemporary democracies putting democratic legitimacy to test. Problems of accountability and transparency challenge democratic legitimacy within participatory governance. Hirst (2000) argues for stakeholders to be held accountable and sanctioned by their constituents. Sørensen and Torfing (2005) propose a democratic anchorage model to ensure democratic legitimacy of governance networks of decision-making. This model suggests that these modes of governing should 'represent the membership basis of the participating groups and organizations... and be accountable to a territorially defined citizenry' (2005). However, as Article I explains, inclusion of the affected poses a threat to the norm equality in democratic societies. Moreover, inclusion of the affected, despite often its connections to citizenship, challenges the idea of equality of citizens in relation to political access.

Studies of citizen participation have discussed participatory governance arenas as a potential locus for citizens to contribute to decisions that affect them. Different understandings of citizenship and public sphere arise from stakeholder participation in a collaborative mode of governing. However, very often, citizens still bound in a territorially defined citizenry, using Sørensen and Torfing's term (2005). This involvement is seen to have present and future consequences in producing

empowerment, strengthening civil society and capacity building. Inclusion is a norm important to these central debates of participation since participants have to be included in the process of participatory governance to actually receive these so-praised benefits.

Participatory governance calls for a renewed understanding of the public sphere that steps away from traditional understandings of citizenship. The concept of citizenship has always been fluid and caused much debate. However, participatory governance shifts the understanding of citizenship in terms of rights and liberties to terms of affectedness and active citizenship. Participatory governance tends to portray the public as horizontal space of communities, whereas in representative democracy, the public is more vertically organized as local, regional, national and transnational (Walters 2002). Community consultations, citizen involvement and deliberative *fora* can be a way to tackle democratic problems (for example social exclusion) since the public manages itself in the arenas that state provides. The state moves from paternalistic provider to participative enabler. (Newman 2007) Whereas in liberal representative democracies citizenship happens around rights, participatory governance constitutes subjects as active, autonomous agents, Rose claims (1999). Moreover, reforms such as New Public Management and modernization of welfare states have dressed the citizen as a consumer or service user. For some, the citizen-consumer figure gives autonomy to citizens to shop in a market of goods (Newman 2007). For others, this same figure can diminish solidarity and reduce possibility of mobilization, over-individualizing the citizen (Needham 2003, pp.8, 28).

The nature of community involvement or 'local people' engagement varies within participatory governance. This same tendency leads to favoring the participation of local people on a logic that they have knowledge and resources necessary create local solutions. When involving the public, the community can be a 'partner' in the decision making processes (Stoker 2007). As many have shown, the concept of community is problematic (Frazer 2000, Liepins 2000, Stoker 2000 in Sterling 2007, p.146). Communities are not single homogenous entities to have their capacities built (Shucksmith, 2000). Moreover, as Paper I shows, the definition of community varies greatly and eludes to different cognitions. Communities can be geographically demarcated or simply 'imagined', as Anderson (1991) would argue. Community participation can be of 'self-help' nature (Richardson and Mumford 2002, p.210) in which communities organize their own projects and confront their own problems or the community can act as a 'partner' in the governance arena (Stoker 2007). The former resembles the nature of social movement in which pressure comes from the bottom and the second highlights that interdependence between actors can lead to partnerships and collaborations (Stoker 2007).

Participatory governance studies have shown that access to the arenas is often limited to few. Lee and Abbot (2003) argue there is a 'real intention to move beyond the usual suspects' in public participation. Professor Colin Copus, at a 2009 conference suggested that these citizens should be referred to as 'devoted citizens' emphasizing their dedication to participation rather than non-representative characteristics. Participatory governance tends to be seen negatively if it only involves usual suspects. Parkinson (2004) explains that these worries about representativeness are unfounded and mathematically impossible.

Other scholars are more positive towards the limited access to participatory arena. As Bang and Sørensen (2001) argue, participatory governance can be arenas for the participation of expert citizens and everyday makers. Expert citizens are what Hirst (1994, 2002) describes as professionals in voluntary associations that feel they can do and act as politicians. Instead of the traditional understandings of activism that groups stand up against the enemy states, expert citizens

advocate and can be called activists, but in a different manner. Expert citizens refer to citizens who 'get things done'. Bang quotes one of his expert citizen interviewee Maria:

> 'Voluntary work is about knowing that the political is a discursive contruct, adopt the project as a lifestyle, possess the expertise for exercising influence placing negotiations before opposition and consider oneself part of the system '(Bang 2007).

Everyday makers can also refer to those who will participate because they can, have time or do not oppose to it. This involvement of expertise or everyday makers does not only depend heavily on empowerment of participants (Hendriks 2008, pp.1011) but also faces legitimacy doubts since they can exclude , for example, marginalized perspectives (Dryzek 2000).

Studies of civil society have also impacted the studies of democracy within participatory governance. Many studies of civil society have demonstrated a positive link between citizen participation and strong civil society and participatory governance provides the locus for such participation. Active citizens can be seen as intermediaries between the state and citizens and associations the means through empowerment. Voluntary associations have been highly studied as the locus for empowerment and the development of active citizenship (Hirst 2002). Robert Putnam is amongst these authors to support this argument. His well-known study of America from 2000,"Bowling Alone", and his 2002 book "Making democracy Work" show that the higher citizen participation in civil society, the higher the robustness of democracy. Citizens acquire social capital they participate contributing to strong democracies according to Putnam (1995). Similar potentials exist in participatory governance arenas due to their emphasis on participation.

Advocates of citizen participation see empowerment as one of the results of citizen participation, inclusion as the means, and participatory governance as the locus. Participatory governance can be costly and very time-consuming in comparison to traditional hierarchical modes of policy-making however, as an investment for the future, this form of governance is seen to empower and lead to more robust democracies. Despite the paradox between effectiveness and efficiency, much of the scholarly discussion of empowerment in participatory governance focuses on the arena as a locus for the production of empowered citizens. For Fung and Wright (2003), participatory governance can be an arena for empowerment, transforming political institutions so that ordinary citizens have equal say in decision making processes. Sørensen and Torfing (2003) describe empowerment as the capacity of citizens to convert certain qualities into effective political action. They also claim institutional design of deliberations is vital to allow for these capacities to enable the conversion of these qualities into any effective political action (Sørensen and Torfing 2000, Agger 2006).

For empowerment to surge, participants have to be included in the process and participate in the result of deliberations. Habermas (1996) and Dryzek (2000) are advocates of deliberations as a means towards empowerment. Prominent cases of participatory budget of Porto Alegre, deliberative processes in Kerala and neighbourhood councils in Chicago are some of the real-life stories that support the hypothesis that deliberative arenas can empower individuals through participation.

Many have criticized this emphasis on empowerment claiming it is a way to promote new right ideology (Zadek 2001, Dower, 2003, Fischer 2003, McIntosh et al. 2004). Sommerville (2003) discards 'empowered participatory governance' of Fung and Wright and suggests participatory governance is instead 'disciplined'. For him, this new modifier refers to a situation where "citizens sign up to a governance regime over which they have no real influence" and participants become disciplined by the rules and norms of the regime itself. Sommerville (2003) also points out that Fung and Wright (2003) who advocate for empowered participatory governance recognize that this

opens space for participatory empowerment but does not guarantee participation. Fischer adds to the discussion of participatory governance claiming these studies need to examine 'the social and cultural realities in the political contexts in which they are applied' (Fischer 2006).

On these various considerations on the democratic quality of participatory governance, it is crucial to note that inclusion is key concept of these debates. The first point is, as Article I and II demonstrate, that many of the solutions for the failures of traditional institutions depend on the search for new institutional arrangements that can adequately do the act of inclusion. Inclusion is a norm that is present in the discussions of democratic potentials of participatory governance, even if not explicitly illuminated. What and who is to be included and for what purpose however, vary but for democracy to happen, scholars focus on inclusion through participation.

Many of the debates over the democratic quality of participatory governance focus on solutions for imperfections of traditional representative democracies however, scholars, when studying democratic potentials, misunderstand that to be included and be an insider is a complex process. Article I explains that there is a construction process of what and who is to be included and inclusion is more complex than accounted for. The articles also show that the constructive process of inclusion needs to be brought to light. The debates demonstrate that inclusion is to take place but not only to be present, but to also participate equally and avoid internal exclusions (Young 2000). However, it is tricky because first, participants have to be included into the arena, second, participants should be included into the process since being present does not guarantee inclusion. Moreover, actors make claims to represent stakeholders to be involved.

Studies of participatory governance commit the fallacy of underplaying the dynamics of representation within this mode of governing. Actors make claims to represent stakeholders and when participating, make claims about themselves or others they claim to represent. Representation is the key to understand inclusion within participatory governance. Understanding representation through democratic norms does not suffice to grasp the dynamics of representing.

2.3 Inclusion through participation?

Participatory governance by definition places the concept of participation at the heart of the process however, representation is also a core concept in participation. The question of who is to participate is crucial to the governance process. Debates over the deepening of democracy dwell with the capacity of participatory governance to involve stakeholders can be seen to promote political inclusion of the affected. These debates assume that inclusion happens through participation. Theorists such as Iris Marion Young (2000) have repeatedly explained that being present at an arena does not mean internal inclusion. Participants can be internally excluded when participating. This emphasis on inclusion though participation has heavily depended on a supposition that this participation is direct and can complement (or substitute) representative democratic institutions. Democratic theorists have simply underestimated the importance of the element of representation in participation. To negate the aspect of representation in participation is covering the sun with a sieve. This dissertationargues that participation and representation are not as divorced as many scholars and practitioners tend to think and any account of democratic assessment needs to take this important aspect into account.

Neither traditional understandings of participation nor traditional understandings of representation are sufficient to understand the dynamics of participatory governance. Despite disagreement within the camps of participation and representation, it is fair to argue that both concepts tend to be understood as two distinct democratic concepts. To participate is to represent and/or self-represent.

Participatory governance promotes participation however, the concept of participation per se brings a lot of disagreement between theorists. While some 'participatory theorists' are consistently worried about low levels of participation while others do not find it threatening to democracy. In the former camp, conservative critiques of democracy are concerned with the paradoxical trade-off between participation and efficiency and effectiveness in the system. Participatory democrats with legacies of Rousseau or J.S. Mill defend participation and structures that facilitate all possible kinds of such participation such as contacting, group organizing, protesting, party campaigning, voting (Parry, Moyser and Day 1992). Participation is integral to democracy as a means towards deliberations that potentially create consensus and do not oppress the underprivileged (Barber 1984). The latter camp argues achieving both effectiveness and efficiency with the assertion of participation is possible. Schumpeter (1952) would go as far as to object to excessive participation outside the ballot claiming there is a division of labor between citizens and politicians. This apprehension of participation is also shared with Sartori (1987) who argues democracy is 'the by-product of a competitive method of leadership recruitment' and a good index of democratization should be an account of responsiveness of the leaders to the led. Participation is a complex phenomenon with many understandings and is only one aspect of democracy. Independent from which camp one subscribes to, it is important to note that both camps see participation as a compliment and/or substitute to representation, missing that they are actually related to each other.

Theorists tend to think of traditional representative arenas and participatory governance arenas as two different very distinct *loci*, but the problems of the former can easily reappear in the latter. Elite theorists as Barber would argue, for example, strong democracy comes when every citizen is his own politician (Barber 1984). He also places representative government on one hand with self-government through citizen participation is on another hand. As mentioned above, Schumpeter values systems with professional politicians, as long as they are responsive. Both Schumpeter and Sartori focus on representation and responsiveness rather than participation. Citizen participation, as Parry, Moyser and Day (1992) point out, ceased to be the *paramount* of democracy (original emphasis). Dahl (1971) in his famous studies has used two indicators as measures for liberalization: participation and public contestation. For him, one can exist without the other. Participation can be high with very little political choice or public contestation can be robust without a lot of participation. Pitkin and Shumer (1982) on their essay 'On Participation' argue direct participation is key to a robust democracy as long as the arena in which participation happens is not hierarchically-organized, deals with important issues and have power to affect those issues. They goes as far as to argue that societies need big changes to become more democratic but participatory democratic movements, with active participation, are the only solution these times.

These debates focus on political inclusion through participation and this point requires further attention. Participants are not to participate simply to fill the room. Participants are to have a say or be heard in these debates. For this reason, these debates focus on political inclusion. Moreover, these traditional theories of participation assume participants do the act of participating in a accountable, transparent and authentic manner however, participating is much more complicated. To participate is the act through which participants represent themselves or represent others. They are, nevertheless, doing the act of representing. Therefore, to understand inclusion through participation, representation is crucial.

2.4 Participation and representation

Many theorists argue participatory governance should include the 'appropriate' representatives at the 'correct' time in order to be democratic. Sørensen and Torfing, in their democratic anchorage model, suggest the representative of the 'affected' should participate (Sørensen & Torfing 2005). Wagenaar also claims 'who's in' and 'who's out' in these processes is key to the success of democratic participatory governance (Wagenaar 2006). As Article I explains, there is a lot of emphasis on who is present or absent in the participatory governance. However, the process of participating or representing participants is dynamic and presence or absence does not suffice to understand the complexities of participating. To participate is to auto-represent.

Representation within participatory governance challenge norms of electoral mechanisms such as accountability, responsiveness and authorization. These processes often involve representatives of stakeholders, citizen representatives and representatives of 'older people' or 'youth' and others that often are not elected through fair transparent elections. These representatives give the impression that these modes of governing have room for more voices and interests, remedying a common problem of majority ruling in electoral systems. These accounts of inclusion through participation within participatory governance are highly influenced by normative accounts of representation that search for better, smarter, deeper representation (Lowndes and Chapman 2008).

Participation of the affected is often seen as the means to inclusion for democratic theorists and representation is a core concept. The problem is solely that direct democracy tends to stand in contrast with representative democracy and participatory governance promises a third way. Representative democracy refers to a system in which some are elected by others to decide for them. For representative democracy theorists, inclusion happens through equality of citizens, coupled with democratic representation that is good, efficient and sometimes even necessary for some theorists (in the case citizens do not know what is best for them). Direct democracy refers to a system of democracy in which citizens who choose to participate have sovereignty and co-decide on policy-making. For direct democratic theorists, representation is detrimental to decision-making processes, rather inclusion happens through citizen participation permitting citizens to co-decide without representatives. Participatory governance suggests inclusion happens through an acceptable mix of representation of stakeholders and non-representation (citizens can co-decide). For participatory governance theorists, it is exactly this mix of possibilities for reaching political processes that enhances inclusion.

These categorizations are problematic because they overlook that there is an element of representing within any form of democracy. Participation is a dynamic process in which representation plays a central role. When participating, participants are still doing the act of representing. Therefore, as Article I explains, understanding representation is crucial to understand governance processes. Participation needs to be treated as self-representation and the assumption that participants self-represent in an accountable, responsive, transparent ways can blind us to the dynamics of participation.

As the next chapter explains, it is necessary to visit new theories of representation to understand democracy and representation is the means through which inclusion is possible. The concept of representation is nothing less than problematic. Historically, attempts to ensure democratic societies focus very much on 'good' democratic representation. Traditions of organizing societies as representative governments have tinted our understandings and have reduced political

representation to mainly a normative concept that focuses on authorization, accountability and responsiveness. However, representation is more dynamic and happens outside these traditional understandings and democratic norms. Otherwise, how could we explain that undemocratic leaders perform representation nonetheless?

Article I proposes that inclusion in contemporary democracies tends to accept systematic exclusion and Article II describes how democratic societies produce minority interests. Representation is the means through which these inclusion and exclusions take place. Understanding the complexity of representation is necessary for any form of democracy.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework of democracy within participatory governance, showing that this mode of governing is highly debated as a possible space for deepening democracy. These debates have inclusion as a norm, even if not explicitly discussed. Moreover, theorists have not sufficiently solved the puzzles of representation within this form of governing. The only way to understand what goes on in participatory governance is to rethink inclusion and representation and take into account that the element of representing, that is present, not only in representative democracy, but also in participatory governance. The dynamics of representation are vital to understand inclusion in participatory governance.

Chapter 3: Inclusion in participatory governance through representative claim-making

Studies of the democratic quality of participatory governance debate the potentials of deepening democracy through stakeholder participation. For supporters of democratic deepening through participatory governance, inclusion happens through participation of the affected. Scholars have created models and suggestions to democratize these arenas, arguing that stakeholders should appropriately represent the interests, opinions and feelings of whom and what they are supposed to represent (Sørensen and Torfing 2005). These theorists discuss democratic deepening through participation of the affected, fighting internal exclusion within participatory governance and promoting political inclusion since participants should have access to decision-making. But as Young (2000) argues, to be included does not guarantee internal inclusion. The last chapter shows that democratic theorists have erroneously assumed that participation is a substitute or complement to representation and also argues that the element of representation is present in any account of democracy. This chapter shows how new understandings of representation are necessary to grasp the process of political inclusion in participatory governance since these perspectives show the dynamics and performative aspect of representing.

Participatory governance, as a way of governing has elements from representative and direct democracy since it often allows for representatives of stakeholders and citizens to participate. However, these understandings of participation understand participation as a complement or substitute to representation. Participation in any governance arena requires representation, even if self-representation. There is often a hidden assumption that to participate is different than to represent. Obviously representatives participate, but many theories of democracies tend to believe that participants when representing themselves can do it in a democratic manner. These accounts of representation that focus on a democratic relationship between the representative and the represented are insufficient to understand the process of representing. Representation is the act of making something into being and it is important to note that it also happens outside democratic norms.

Representation is core to the study of political inclusion and it is necessary to visit new perspectives of representation to understand political inclusion in participatory governance. Theories of representation often assume that democratic representatives can or should 'read-off' views, opinions and interests from their constituencies. However, it is through representation that actors are constructed as having views, opinions and interests. Traditional theories of representation have overlooked the dynamics of representation and overemphasized the importance of democratic norms. Analyzing stakeholder involvement through democratic norms impedes the understanding of the intricate process of representing in any governance structure. Within participatory governance structures, as Michael Saward (2006) argues, actors make claims to represent or have claims put upon them, independent of the democratic norms. However, he fails to explain why some claims are more accepted than others. As Andrew Rehfeld (2006) suggests, representation happens as long as an audiences recognizes and accepts a claimant as representative. Both the process of claim-making and the account of audience recognition are crucial to understand this process of representing.

The process of representing within these modes of governing is crucial to judge any potential for political inclusion. *Political inclusion refers to the act of having views, opinions or interests*

accepted to take part into the participatory governance arena. This chapter presents a model to understand how the process of political inclusion takes place into participatory governance showing that it is through representative claim-making that this takes place. This chapter introduces a combination of both accounts of representation of Michael Saward and Andrew Rehfeld and presents a new model to understand this intricate process of inclusion and claim-making in participatory governance.

3.1 Representative claim-making

This study of participatory governance analyzes participation through the lens of representation from the point of departure that both concepts are intertwined: there is no participation without representation. The studies of participation are not sufficient to understand the intricate process of participating because they ignore that representation (that takes place even when self-representation) is a core concept when participating. Studies of participation tend to assume that when participants represent themselves do it a democratic manner following norms of accountability and transparency. However, there is no actor before representation takes place, as this chapter proceeds to explain. Moreover, theories of representation are also insufficient to grasp the dynamic within participatory governance since they underplay the importance of representation, in the construction of actors, outside democratic norms.

Representation should not be understood in terms of roles representatives take on, nor solely in terms of the link between the representative and the represented. Michael Saward (2006) explains representation happens through a dynamic process of claim-making in which subjects make claims about objects in front of audiences. Claims have momentum when actors make representative claims. In the dynamic process of representing, claims are performative and constitutive since claims can create constituencies and create identities (Saward 2006). For example, an NGO advocating for animal rights claims to know the interests of animals. This claim creates the 'represented' and constitutes them. Interestingly, this claim (simply a subject making a claim about an object) comes into being independent from authorization of the represented, transparency, responsiveness of the representative or any other democratic norm. Surely animals have not authorized this NGO nonetheless, the NGO does the act of representing. Saward's understanding of representation is fruitful because it allows the explanation of such cases of representation that take place outside democratic norms.

The concept of the representative claim illustrates the constitutive and performative aspect of representation but it does not suffice to explain inclusion and exclusion within governance arenas. Saward suggests a model that does not explain why some claims are accepted and others rejected as representative. If the same NGO advocated for the right to sacrifice animals, it is fair to say that in the present day, this claim would not be so popular for some, but could easily but accepted by others. So what is it that makes a representative claim accepted? Saward indeed explains claims are not made in a vacuum and happen in historic and cultural contexts, however he misses to explain this very key point of claim-making: the audience in which claims are made are crucial for the claim to have momentum.

The concept of the representative claim presented by Michael Saward is ideal to study the performative and constitutive aspect of representation within participatory governance.

Representation is more ubiquitous than usually taken into account and happens informally outside these formal structures, as Saward (2006) argues. As Figure 1 below shows, representation happens as long as a claim is made. Representation requires a claim-maker to propose a subject and an object to an audience. This Subject-Object-Referent model below shows that representation can be constitutive since claim-makers create subjects and objects in reference to an audience.

Subject-Object-Referent

The MP (maker) offers himself or herself (subject) as the embodiment of constituency interests (object) to that constituency (audience)

Saward suggests claims can have different characteristics.

Internal-external
Claims can be made by the maker of the claim as an internal claim or be made upon them as an external claim. Saward makes an important analytical distinction between two cases: internal and external claims. Instead of an internal claim such as "I know the interests of the constituency', claims can be external such as "He knows the interests of the constituency". As Saward (2006) explains, when the claim is internal, there is a process of, as Barker calls, endogenous legitimization of the claim-maker (Barker 2001, 45).

Singular-multiple
In a singular representative claim, the claim-maker might construct a single audience. A multiple claim is a 'buy one get one free' claim (Saward 2006) since it can appeal to multiple audiences. The claim that portrays more than a single claim is not necessarily a vocal claim. When US Presidential Candidate McCain in 2008 claims to know what Joe the Plumber needs, he is making a singular claim, speaking to a singular audience. However, one could see multiple claims such as a president standing for the nation or for his political party.

Implicit-Explicit
Representative claims can be so implicit that they go unnoticed. Others need to be overtly explicitly made. The implicit claims are familiar in 'institutions, actions and rhetoric'. (Saward 2006). The Pope claiming to advance the preferences of the Catholic church might be more implicit, go more unnoticed and less challenged, than the Brazilian Landless Worker's movement claiming to know the path towards poverty eradication. However, it is important to note that implicit claims are not uncontestable.

Particular-general
General claims set out the 'constitutive character of the system'(Saward 2006). General claims can be the deep claims such as electoral systems, whereas a particular claim might be taking advantage of the institutionalized claims. For example, equality of the citizens might be a general claim made by the authors of a constitution, however, this level of generality might allow many different particular claims of different subjects to reach this equality.

The model suggested by Saward focuses on the vertical relationship between the representatives and represented. The model also shows the constitutive aspect of representation since actors perform such creation. Figure 1 below shows this argument.

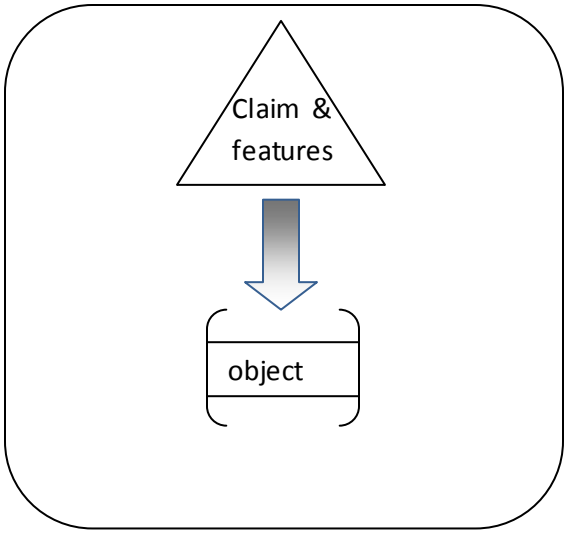


Fig. 3.1.: Claim constituting an object

A model to study inclusion through claim-making should focus not only on the process of claim-making, but also on the audience in which the claims are made. It is up to the audience to assess the features of the claims and use these claims. The process of inclusion is very much dependent on the audience that judges the claims.

3.2 Audience recognition

Audiences render representative claims possible. Andrew Rehfeld, American political scientist, explains this exact point that Saward does not highlight: audiences are vital to understand representation. Studies of representation have focused on democratic representation but representation happens as long as the audience renders the representative 'qualified, valid and appropriate', Rehfeld (2006) suggests. 'Political representation does not depend on notions of accountability, authorization and 'acting for another's interests (Rehfeld 2006)". This explains cases of representatives that do not appear legitimate to our eyes, but act as *de facto* representatives. These may appear normative but they are merely descriptive. An audience that takes a representative to be qualified does not mean that the representative is actually qualified. (Rehfeld 2006). He offers the tools to understand how representation happens arguing audiences use their own rules to recognize claimants as representatives.

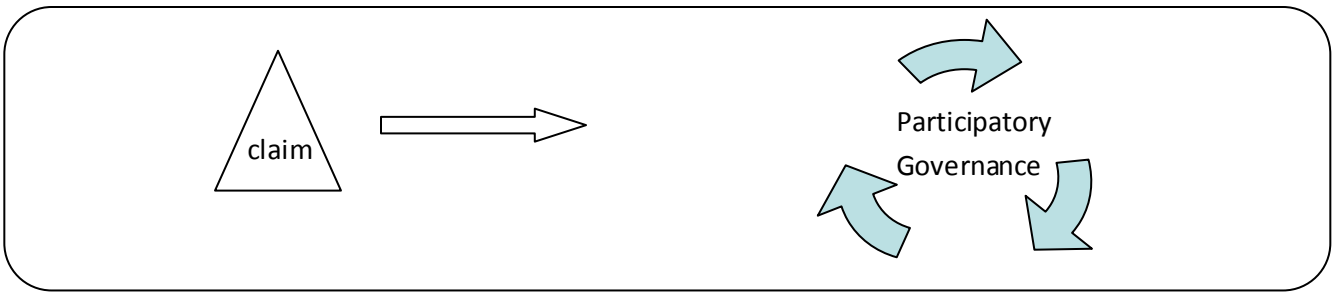
The general theory of representation of Andrew Rehfeld gives the framework to understand formal legitimate representation however, representation can be more informal, less legitimate and happen nevertheless. Rehfeld grasps the non-democratic moments of representation, however, despite his

rejection of democratic norms to understand representation, he finds himself still focusing on the representation as 'roles' taken by individuals, failing to account for the dynamic aspect of representation. As soon as recognized as representatives, as Rehfeld suggests, these individuals take up the role of representatives. Roles can be better understood as 'functions'. Rehfeld claims representatives participate to serve a specific function, however, this function is not static and happens dynamically. Focusing on roles can blind us to the dynamics of this process. This account of audience recognition does not allow us to understand why some claims are accepted and others are not when representatives participate in governance arenas. An audience can still reject some interests from a representative even if he or she is a legitimate and accepted representative according to the rules of recognition. Rehfeld focuses on people and individuals as representatives but it is necessary to focus on representative claims to grasp the intricacies of the process of representing.

Representation takes place without acceptance of the represented. Rehfeld argues that symbols can be representative symbols if the audience believes so, without the authorization of the symbol. This is a straightforward argument- the EU flag stands as a symbol, for example. He argues that in the case of individuals however, the individual has to accept to be representative if representation is not symbolic. This is not necessarily the case. Individuals can be representative even if they do not accept it. This is mainly due to his account of focusing on the function of political representation bypassing the important moments of aesthetic and cultural representation. An illustrative example is the debate around the *niqab* in France. While some French MP's argue the full covering of the body to be a symbol against secularism, *niqabi* women might not accept that claim. This shows that Rehfeld's separation of political representation impedes noticing cases of political struggle that happen through representative claim-making. Rehfeld separates political representation from other forms of representing by linking it to what renders it legitimate. However, it is only possible to grasp these instances of aesthetic and cultural representations by treating legitimacy and representation as two different analytical instances. Subjects can represent many objects at the same time and defining representation according to function in which they are supposed to accomplish does not allow us to see this complex process. According to this account of inclusion through the lens of representation, separating the study of representation from the study of democratic legitimacy is fundamental. Legitimacy happens on a case by case basis.

Rehfeld's Model below argues for the focus on the horizontal relationship between the representative and the audience, rather than the vertical relationship between representative and what he or she claims to represent. Fig. 2 below shows:

Fig 3.2.: Vertical relationship between representative and the audience



The concepts of audience are different for both theorists. Figure 1 shows that, for Saward, the claim maker creates the object in reference to an audience. The audience seems to be the constituency or the one he or she claims to represent. However, for Rehfeld, the audience in which representation takes place is mainly the physical locus, rather than an imagined claimed locus. When Rehfeld mentions the audience, he refers to the arena where the representative should participate, for example, a country representative in a WTO meeting. Saward would argue that the audience is the country that the representative speaks for. In his latest 2010 book 'The Representative Claim', Saward differentiates between the intended audience (the audience the claim creates) and the audience that receives the claim. In the case of participatory governance, these two concepts of audience can overlap. For example, when an elected politician speaks for his constituency in a participatory governance arena, other members of the arena can easily feel as part of this constituency if they have voted for her or support her political party, for example. This research is concerned with the audience that listens, receives and judges the claim, rather than the audience that is created through the claim. The focus is on the claim-maker, the claim and the audience in which it is made.

In Rehfeld's connection of formal and substantive representation, the function sets any account of the performance. For him, representation can be seen in terms of how substantive it is, only in agreement with its function. His pressing question is: "What kind of representation is it, and how well is it being achieved?" The model shows that the audience creates rules of recognition that judge the performance of the representation.

Connecting the Formal and Substantive Dimensions of Political Representation

FUNCTION → Audience → Uses Rules of Recognition → Representative → **PERFORMANCE**

The Function = the purpose of representation defining the job the representative is supposed to do
The Represented = some person, group or thing represented.
The Representative = some set of persons or things that represents the Represented.
The Audience = the relevant parties before whom The Representative claims to represent the Represented and act as defined by the Function.
Rules of Recognition: = the three rules the audience uses to decide whether a claimant is a representative.

Qualified Set = the claimant(s) must be a member of a set the audience recognizes as qualified.
Decision Rule = the claimant must have been picked by the decision rule the Audience recognizes as valid.
Selection Agent = the person(s) who employed the decision rule must be one the audience recognizes as appropriate. (Rehfeld 2005)

Rules of recognition

The audience uses rules of recognition when faced with a representative claim. Audiences create different rules to evaluate not only representative individuals but also representative claims. Therefore, observing these rules is very important to understand inclusion and exclusion within participatory governance. Rules are temporarily and spatially flexible due to the arrangement of the participatory governance arenas. As Rehfeld (2005) suggests in Fig. 4, the function that the representative is supposed to perform impacts their performance.

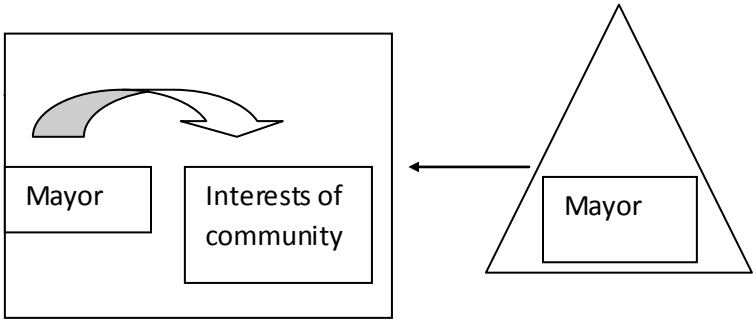
Rules are the lens for the analysis of the process of inclusion and exclusion of the representative claims. The claim is accepted if the audience recognizes the claim as following the rules they create, and it could be rejected if the claim does not. Rules and claims can be negotiated since they are temporary and flexible however, to be included the claim has to match the rules that the audience uses to recognize it. Interestingly however, the audience can make mistakes as Rehfeld suggests.

3.3 Model to investigate political inclusion through representative claims

To grasp the dynamics of representative claim-making, this study focuses on process rather than static structures. Participatory governance arenas are *loci* for representative claims to come to life, grow and expire. Key to this study is to take into consideration that representative claims give meaning to actors. To understand the process of inclusion, observing claims, audiences and their rules of recognition is necessary.

The link between the representative claim is what is often studied in representation of linking the representative and the represented. This is the link between what a representative claim constructs. For example, a representative claim of a mayor claiming to know the interests of a constituency creates a picture such as:

Fig: 3.3: Link between a representative claim and its construction

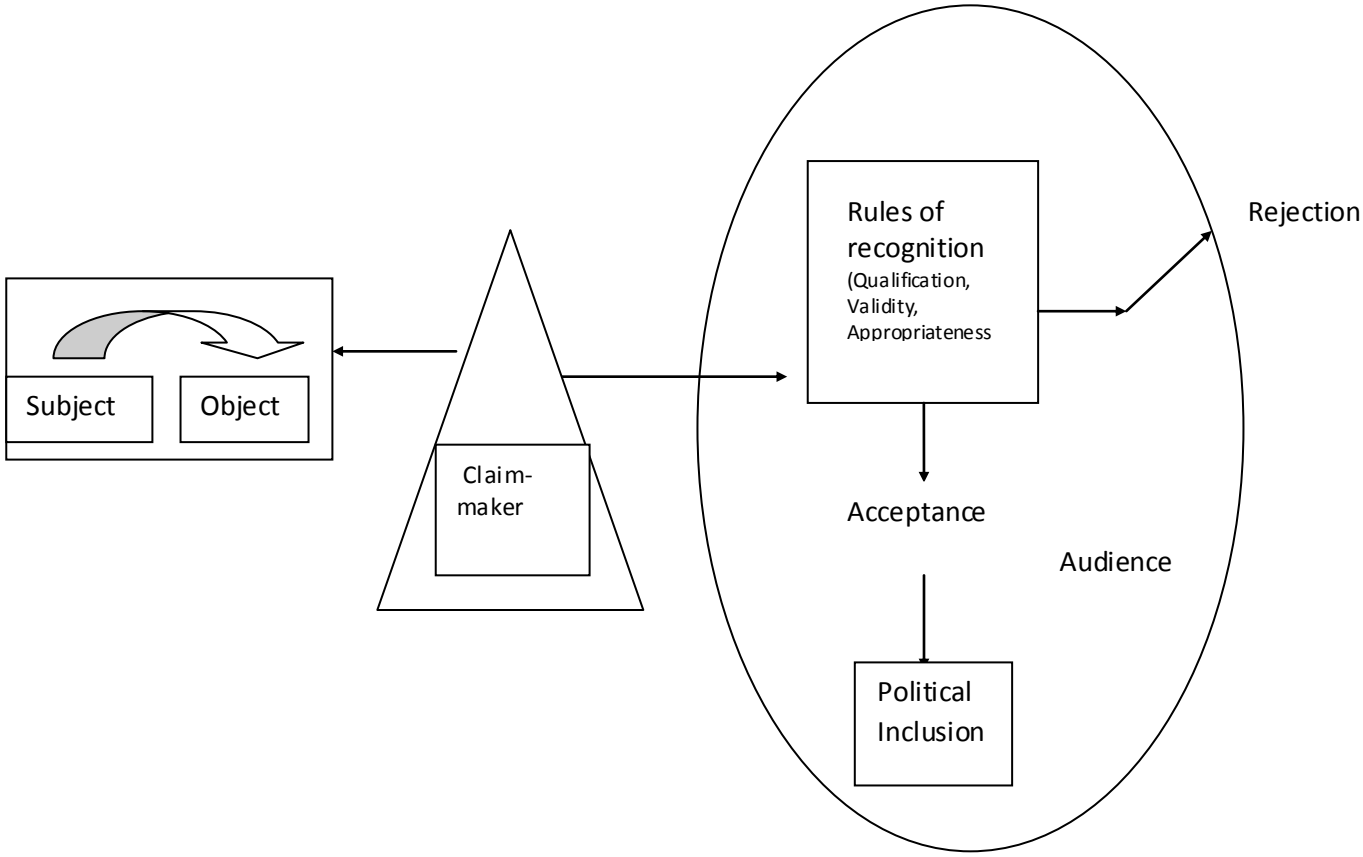


In this case, the democratic relationship between the representative and the represented happens in this space, however, this dissertation explores what happens after this claim is made, rather than this link. After the claim is made, it is judged by the participatory governance if it should be included according to the rules of recognition they use.

To understand political inclusion into participatory governance, it is important to follow the path the representative claim takes after it is made. Moreover, it is crucial to analyze the claima, along with its features are accepted or rejected into the arena.

Zooming out of Fig. 4 into a bigger picture and uniting both accounts of representation of Saward and Rehfeld, Fig. 5 below presents a comprehensive model to understand inclusion through representative-claim making in participatory governance. A claim can take many forms and features, but in the study of political inclusion claims that are relevant are: *representative claims made about interests, opinions, views of individuals or groups that should be taken into consideration or be heard by the participatory governance arena*.

Fig: 3.4.: Political inclusion through representative claim-making in participatory governance



A representative claim-maker presents a claim that constructs an object to an audience. This claim, which comes with its own features, is subject to the rules of recognition of the audience. The audience judges if the claim is qualified, valid and appropriate according to their own rules. If the audience recognizes the claim according to its own rules of recognition, the claim is accepted as representative to be included. However, if rules of recognition judge the claim to be inappropriate, invalid or non-qualified, the claim can be excluded. The difference between the possible paths of representative claims is important to understand inclusion and exclusion.

This model inspires five questions to be posed to empirical cases:

1) Which kinds of representative claims are made?

   Claim-makers can vary. Anyone at anytime can make claims. The claim-maker can vary and claims can carry different characteristics. According to Saward, claims can be internal, external, implicit, explicit, single, multiple, particular or general in their characteristics, as his own model suggests above. Finding out these features is necessary to understand if the path the claim takes towards inclusion and exclusion has anything to do with the features they carry. Theorists of representation often link the representative to the ones he or she claims to represent. Rehfeld assumes that the representative presents him or herself to the audience, however, this could differ. The claim-maker can offer himself or herself as the embodiment of interests, for example, or offer someone else. The one making the claim can be part of the audience or be outside the audience. Finding out which situations this happens is key to understand inclusion of representative claims since much studies of inclusion focus on this exact point.

2) What subjects and objects does it construct?

   Claims present subjects and construct objects to a certain audience. As mentioned earlier, claims are constitutive and give momentum to representation. Understanding which objects the claims construct is important to understand what can be included and excluded. Moreover, understanding to whom they are presented is important. As Saward (Fig. 1) explains, there is a Maker-Subject-Object-Referent process in each claim. It is crucial to understand these links.

3) Who plays the audience?

   Since the audience renders the inclusion of representative claims possible, what and who does the claim construct and to whom and to whom is important. These audiences use rules of recognition when judging the representative, according to Rehfeld's theory of representation. The audience acts as filter in the process of representative claim-making.

4) What rules of recognition regulate the acceptance and rejection of claims?

   Rules of recognition vary depending on context. Claims are accepted according to three criteria: validity, qualification and appropriateness. These descriptive criteria allow the understanding of legitimacy of representation. Unraveling the role of such rules of recognition therefore is necessary to understand the process of representation. Rehfeld explains representation has a function and this function is judged by rules of recognition. However, any judgment on the performance of the representative needs to be understood on a claim by claim basis. The rules of recognition in practice are crucial to the process of inclusion and exclusion. Potentially some situations have more propensity to be accepted as representative.

5) How do these rules of recognition impact political inclusion?

   Since representation happens through claim-making, it is important to ask in what situations claims are rejected. If claims are accepted according to rules that audiences use, when can representative claims be rejected? In which situations? Asking such question brings light to the rules in practice. Saward (2006) claims representative claims are flexible and

temporary. Observing the process of claim-making is necessary to grasp the flexibility and longevity of rules of recognition in place.

This chapter provides the theoretical background in an operational manner to understand how representative claims are made and subject to inclusion or exclusion in participatory governance arena. The concept of representative claim of Michael Saward (2006) provides the possibility to understand how claims come to life and how they construct and constitute subjects and objects. Moreover, the theory of representation of Andrew Rehfeld (2006) expresses the importance of focusing on the audience in which representation takes place. Combining both perspectives, this chapter provides a model that shows that the inclusion or exclusion of representative claims are subject to rules of recognition that the participatory governance employs. This model serves to empirically investigate political inclusion in participatory governance.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology to investigate political inclusion through representative claim-making in participatory governance and answer how representative claims have a role in the production of political inclusion in this form of governing. Chapter 2 presents the model to analyze the representative claim and audience recognition in this mode of governing and this section explains the interpretive framework to the research of dynamic representative claim-making and how that impacts the investigation of the social world and the choice of research methods. A qualitative study through two case studies is selected to conduct a detailed examination of the context in which representative claims take place. The case studies of local participatory governance arenas in Birmingham and Copenhagen are suitable since they promote inclusion and collaboration between different actors such as community leaders, citizens, politicians, public managers and others. Actors make representative claims about each other in this arena.

The analytical framework, research design, choice of methods and limitations of research present follow. The first section introduces the analytical framework and identifies the specific data for an interpretive study of representative claims in participatory governance. The second section presents the research design through case studies showing that a comparative approach is appropriate to grasp the intricacies of claim-making in governance. The third section shortly argues the choice of case studies of participatory governance in the two cities of Birmingham and Copenhagen explaining the process of data collection, comparative methods, use of interviews, observations and 'shadowing' of actors to examine governance in action. The fourth section debates the role of the researcher and the limitations of methodological choices.

4.1 Analytical framework

Using an interpretive approach, this analytical framework provides the methodology to grasp the complexity of political inclusion through representative claim-making in participatory governance. This study uses the model from Chapter 2 that understands representation as a construction process that happens outside democratic norms. Therefore, the point of departure is to approach claim-making as a process through which representative instances are constructed. Unraveling how this construction takes place is the key to understand the possibilities for political inclusion in participatory governance.

According to the interpretive approach, individuals interpret reality and make sense of their context. Interpretation is "the play of institutional politics is situated with a competition over different understandings of socio-realities" (Fischer 2003 in Hajer and Wagenaar 2003). Reality is represented in shapes and forms that are constructed. Therefore, reality is constructed and can be reconstructed in any shape or form. This construction has a finite and temporally bounded character of knowledge (Fischer 2003). knowledge is contextual, rather than as a scientific reproductive rational blueprint. As Moses and Knutsen (2007) argue, individuals obtain knowledge through interactions with others and learning from others. Knowledge in this case is an acceptable version out of the possibilities of understanding.

Interpretivists attempt to explain guidelines in the world but in different manners. They situate themselves in larger social orders where paradigms change but do not completely shift rather, they evolve. The conditions to arriving where we are, have been laid elsewhere some other time (North 2005).Both evidence and theories are constructs and both at best are very imperfect mirrors, of what we are trying to comprehend and therefore control. Knowledge therefore is not just through finding truth that is out there. Knowledge is about carefully understanding context and how it is socially situated.

There are basic ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions for this dissertation:

> An ontology based on the precepts that human agency is malleable, and that each of us participates in the construction of our own world.
>
> An epistemology which, in addition to sense perceptions and human reason, relies on a much broader repertoire of epistemological devices
>
> A Methodology which seeks to identify the (socially constructed) patterns and regularities of the world.

(Moses and Knutsen 2007)

Realizing that there is no one single truth out there and that social order is constructed should not blind the researcher for methodological precision. Interpretive understandings have been accused of disregard for methodological precision (Torfing 2007). Interpretivists should still commit to methodologies that suit there ontological and epistemological assumptions. To successfully do this, constructivists might use same basic methods as naturalists, however with different purposes. The purpose is to unveil conditions for social processes and political practices rather than the objective truth. This interpretive framework permits the understanding of the dynamic representative claim-making how actors perceive their actions in their context and implicates on the choices of research design.

4.1.a Studying representative claims, audiences and rules of recognition

The study of the dynamic process of political inclusion through representative claim-making calls for qualitative methods for two reasons: novelty of the topic of political inclusion and representative claim-making in participatory governance and necessity of in-depth understanding of context. First, research that focuses on political integration concentrates on political traditional forms of participation such as voting behavior and civil society participation overlooks participatory governance arenas as an important space of public policy-making. Moreover, studies of representation within theories of democracies have been swamped with quantitative measurements that attempt to measure how well representatives represent their constituencies however, this does not answer the research questions of this thesis. To understand political inclusion in participatory governance, this dissertation focuses on the construction of this process showing how representative claims construct interests, opinions and views into participatory governance arenas.

To understand the process of representative claim-making in participatory governance, this study focuses on three key elements: 1) the performance of representative claims, 2) audiences in which

they are made and, 3) rules of recognition that the audiences employ. The first element is the representative claim since actors perform claim-making within participatory governance structures making representative claims or have claims put on them when participating. As Chapter 3 shows, these claims can have different characteristics and create or allude to different objects.[1] They are temporarily flexible, historically and culturally contingent and give momentum to representation (Saward 2006). The claim-maker can be the same as the subject of representation, for example, "I know the interests of this group". However, the claim-maker might be different and claim: "She represents the PhD students". For this dynamic process of placing claims on others, analyzing characteristics of claims is important since this exact act and performance is the enactment of representation. Actors make a repertoire of representative claims however, the claims that are worthy of note in the study of political inclusion are the *representative claims that create actors (individuals or groups) as carrying interests, opinions, views that should be heard by the participatory governance and taken into consideration into the decision-making process.*

The second element is the audience who receives the claim. Audiences, according to the model in Chapter 2, are the participatory governance arenas where actors meet to participate and collaborate. These audiences are treated as the loci where representative claims manifest since these arenas invite or receive participants that are supposed to represent. Understanding the characteristics of the audiences is key to understand how representative claims manifest and how they are potentially included or excluded. *The audience refers to the actors in the physical space that are recipient to the representative claims in the participatory governance arena e.g. meetings and collaborations*.

The third element that is key to understanding inclusion in participatory governance are the rules of recognition that audiences employ. Audiences use rules of recognition when faced with representative claims. As Rehfeld (2006) argues, the audiences judge representation legitimate through rules of recognition they employ. In traditional representative institutions, election might be a commonly employed rule to render a representative legitimate, but in participatory governance, which rules are used to recognize representative claims as legitimate? Chapter 2 shows that as long as *audiences recognize representatives as legitimate as long as they are members of a qualified set, picked by a decision rule recognized as a valid and selected by an agent judged as appropriate*.

This research on conditions of possibility for political inclusion through representative claim-making seeks to avoid tendencies for methodological nationalism. Methodological nationalism has largely influenced the studies of peoples (Beck 2006). The traditional understandings of the nation-state has not only given nation-builders a tinted view, but also has colored the view of social scientists that latched on the importance of studying peoples as citizens as units of analysis. This is the assumption that the nation state society is the natural social political form of the modern world. In Europe, the notion of peoplehood surrounds around democracy, citizenship, social security and national self-determination (Wimmer and Schiller 2002a). This allows for a territorial fixed boundary imaginary that has physical demarcations, separating the inside and outside. This project fights methodological nationalism though focusing on representative claims, rather than citizens as units of analysis. Processes lie at the center of attention since the motivation is to highlight micro-processes through which representation is enacted. The core concern lies in the momentum of claim-making and the course of action the claim takes. Instead of measuring participatory governance arenas on democratic norms, the research analyzes exactly which norms come into play in the arena through representative claim-making.

[1] For complete model, see Chapter 2

4.1.b Data requirements

To analyze political inclusion through representative claim-making, the core data should come from actors' perceptions and performance within arenas. Actors interpret their experiences and grasping these interpretations is important. The empirical data has to contain three necessary aspects that allow for: 1) catching representative claims as they are made in participatory governance arenas, 2) analyzing the process the claims embark on once they are made 3) following the participatory governance arena in action 4) diving into the context to grasp which rules of recognition are used.

First, the data has to reveal moments of representative claim-making that are diverse and take place at different time and space. Since claims give momentum to representation, as Saward (2007) argues, examining what happens when they are made is highly important. Claims construct objects e.g. interests of groups and opinions of citizens, as the model presents and these exact moments of claim-making are important for the identification of the claim-maker, subject, object and audience.

Second, claims are not made in a vacuum. The data has to capture the process of representation from once it is made to understand political inclusion and exclusion and detect problems of internal exclusion.

Third, data about claim-makers in action in the participatory governance arena is crucial to understand how they make, receive and evaluate representative claims. Since process is crucial, observing the arena in action to grasp the relationship between actors and claims is crucial.

Fourth, the data has to be rich and detailed to understand which rules of recognition the audience uses to evaluate a claim. Rehfeld (2006) argues the audience uses rules to accept a claimant. Therefore, grasping the rules they use is fundamental to understand which claims are accepted, rejected or negotiated. Understanding the set context for these claims within participatory governance is necessary since rules are not always voiced or spelled out. Therefore, a deep familiarity with the context is necessary.

4.2 Research design

This section outlines the research design through explaining the choice of methods that allow for answering the research questions. Since the data requires claims in actions, processes and actors in their own arena to understand how actors interpret what they do, qualitative case studies of local participatory governance processes are fruitful. This subsection explains the choice of case studies as a method.

4.2.a Case studies and case selection

This study conducts two case studies of local participatory governance arenas to understand the process representative claim-making. Many cities have been experiencing these proliferations of participatory modes of governing. (Sørensen and Torfing 2007). According to Rhodes (1997) and Flyvbjerg (2001), the study of new forms of governance requires the use of qualitative research methods. Comparing two case studies illuminates different conditions for possibilities for representative claim-making and the research questions serve to orient the research rather than to find precise links between variables. Therefore, two in-depth case studies of two participatory governance arenas in two neighborhoods in the European cities of Birmingham and Copenhagen are suitable. Three main aspects make these two-case studies significant: 1) momentum of participatory governance, 2) possibility of field work and access to field data and 3) funds for the research.

First, participatory governance is an important phenomenon in both Birmingham and Copenhagen. These two cities have neighborhoods, Balsall Heath and Valby, respectively, that are self-praising about for the successful development of a participatory mode of governing that promote collaboration across sectors. These arenas have been specifically arranged, or developed from bottom-up, and both promote citizen participation and collaboration between sectors. Since the goal is to understand representative claim-making, the choice of focus is citizen representative claim-making in these arenas gives light to conditions in which these happen. The intention is to use case studies to dive into the field with an exploratory vision.

The timing also makes these local participatory governance arenas attractive. The early 2000s are a time of increasing changes in local governance in both cities. Neighborhood renewal programs and urban regeneration initiatives that support stakeholder involvement have momentum. Whether due to New Public Management or right ideology or bottom-up pressure, cities have been supporting local involvement of citizens.

Much case study research of governance focuses on a single case due to uniqueness however, two case studies may be more fruitful. Two case studies design allows for an exploration that does not attempt to prove or disprove theory, but that observes with detail. 'Cases are not selected to try and uncover the hidden and universal patterns of the social world' (Moses and Knutsen 2007). The choice of cases attempts to find conditions for possibilities, and not predictability. These cases do not exemplify reality for the whole England or Denmark, but rather a group of possibilities and a range of conditions that allow for the understanding of the process of claim-making in participatory governance. The diversity between both cities makes it fruitful to use more than one case study. As Yin (1994) suggests, the approach does not rely on representative sampling logic as of survey research. Therefore, "the typical criteria regarding sample size are irrelevant" (Yin 1994). Instead, the sample size required to reach saturation is guided through data collection until no significant new findings are revealed. The selection of participants covers occasions in which the phenomena under study are likely to be present. Yi and Stake emphasize that case study is not sampling research (Yi 1994, Stake 1995). Instead, the selection of cases maximizes what can be learned, in the period of time available for the study. The unit of analysis for the case studies is a system of actions and the interaction between actors, rather than the individual herself (Zach 2005).

Studying local participatory governance through case studies is not very innovative but still very productive. As Torfing (2007) mentions, the 1958 Robert Dahl study of New Haven could be read as studying participatory governance. Frank Fischer has studied Kerala and participatory structures (Fischer 2006), the famous studies of Fung and Wright of participatory governance concentrated on case studies, other works of Sørensen and Torfing (2007) have used local governance networks at

the local and national level as case studies. Henrik Wagenaar (2007) has used neighborhood governance as case studies to understand complexities policy-makers face. The two case studies allow for the contrast between predictable explanations and taken-for-granted understandings. This method allows for unexpected issues to raise in the data collection process (Yin 1994). Essential to a qualitative study of governance is to understand what Flvbjerg (2001) calls the 'concrete, little things' (2001).

Policy-makers support participatory governance arenas and appear to promote inclusion and representation of citizens, but watching participants in action is necessary to understand inclusion and exclusion. The two different arenas might appear to be similar in terms of involving stakeholders, but differences and similarities can only be observed with in-depth case studies. Since there are multiple realities, people experience, interpret and conceptualize things differently; case studies open the possibilities for different claims and illuminate claim-making in representative claim-making. Such cities have different styles of policy-making, different understandings of citizens, communities and traditions of local democracy.

Second, the choice of two case studies is possible due to the ease of access to field work. The PhD project lasted 3 years which is sufficient time to delve deep into the crux of the matter in two case studies. The period of study was eighteen months in each city, which is enough time to grasp the particularities of each neighborhood and study two cases. Previous contacts established between researchers at Roskilde University and actors at the Valby Local Committee in Denmark allowed for the approaching the field with ease. In England, a quick exploration of the city along with 'luck' of randomly meeting important contacts in the neighborhood of Balsall Heath contributed to a smooth field work.

Third, the generosity of the PhD grant allowed for in-depth case studies. Stake (1995) claims that restricted resources of a PhD study suggest a study of a single city is ideal, however, the PhD scholarship was on the condition of spending half of the time in each city, in each university, deeply investigating the particularities of each case.

4.2.b Comparing cases

The point of comparing participatory governance in two cities is to produce knowledge about political inclusion and representative claim-making in participatory governance. The comparison identifies circumstances to understand diverse perspectives in both Birmingham and Copenhagen. What is key is to grasp the constitutive meanings within which individuals understand themselves and their actions. The goal is to establish associations, uniqueness and complexity of how actors make representative claims and political inclusion happens in these arenas. This project of representative claim-making in the participatory governance arenas in Birmingham and Copenhagen is one that looks for meanings and context in which they are situated. These cases make associations and maintain the thick descriptive narratives as Moses and Knutsen (2007) suggests (2007). Comparing here is more of a back and forth take on both cases.

Comparisons are essential to constructivists as they are to naturalists. This is not a comparison as of Mill's Most Similar Systems design. As Moses and Knutsen (2007) point, there is a danger in comparing things that appear to be similar and for them, no similarities can be informative.

Therefore, the comparison is a way to think differently about a subject. Instead of comparing, the researcher hops and oscillates, appreciating local significance of knowledge. The goal is to interpret events in constrast to larger contextual settings that provide the constitutive meaning to particular events and explore in the little what eludes us in the large (Moses and Knutsen 2007).

These two case studies focus on the significance of local practices. Meaning is embodied as agency. As Moses and Knutsen (2007) explain, the constructivist is less interested with quantification, source authority and replication, rather, she can use data from intuition empathy and even imagined examples.

Comparing the two cases of participatory governance in the studies of inclusion through representative claims is novel. The novelty does not lie in the case study approach, but rather in the micro-level approach through which the cases are explored.

4.3 Presentation of cases: Birmingham and Copenhagen

Local participatory governance arenas in Birmingham and Copenhagen are the two cases of this study. The choice of comparative methods is fruitful to unfold similarities and possible divergence between results. As a way to produce knowledge, the comparative method allows for the moving back and forth from each case to understand how the context takes place plays a role. Since both local participatory governance arenas in Balsall Heath, Birmingham and Valby, Copenhagen, are similar due to their successful cases of neighbourhood involvement and capacity building, these cases are fruitful to understand political inclusion. This comparison is fruitful due to their differences too since these participatory governance arenas happen in different cities within different national context, democratic culture and policy environments.

4.3.a Birmingham

Birmingham, known as the 'second city', is the second largest city in the United Kingdom and the largest unitary local authority in England. The home of many deprived communities, a old industrial hub and a reputation that leaves to be desired make Birmingham is a much studied city for its successes and failures. The choice of a local participatory governance arena in Balsall Heath as a case study, an inner city neighborhood south of the city centre, is one of these success stories since the neighborhood was able to regenerate itself form prostitution and violent crime. An initiative that can be described as participatory governance takes place in this neighborhood since it promotes participation of stakeholders, residents, elected politicians and third sector. The goal of this participatory governance is of local problem-solving through capacity-building and enhanced representation.

Balsall Heath, as the city of Birmingham, is famous for its diverse population. Birmingham, as Vertovec (2007) argues, experiences a condition of super-diversity. This term refers to what the country experiences in face of the vast 'immigration-related diversity and socio-cultural complexity in the UK today' (Vertovec 2007).

Since this study aims at understanding the process of representative claims, Balsall Heath is a ideal case due to its city-like characteristics of an industrial hub facing problems of regeneration and deprivation in third era of 'super-diversity'. Moreover, it is ideal due to its attempts to have such diverse communities represented in local governance processes. Many studies of representation have focused on Birmingham in theory and practice of group representation (Smith and Stevenson 2004). Mainly focusing on identities of representatives such as ethnic minorities and women representation, these studies fail to address dangers of internal exclusion in participatory governance arenas since being present does not guarantee inclusion, as earlier chapters have shown. The super diversity of the city, and the attention government has put into enhancing local democracy are also worthy reasons to study representative claims in this context.

4.3.b Copenhagen

Copenhagen, capital and largest city of Denmark is the home to the neighborhood Valby. A diverse area in the south of city centre, the Local Committee of Valby has been an example for other Local Committees in the city due to its success in creating networks and involving resident representative in the planning of the neighborhood. A few areas of the neighborhood consist of social housing, are highly deprived for Danish standards and suffer from high unemployment and social problems. Furthermore, the improvement of integration of immigrant and refugees is part of the agenda in 2007, the year this study started and schemes to enhance their representation surged. The Local Committee of Valby is treated as a participatory governance arena that involves politicians, third sector, community leaders and citizens. Since one of the goals of the Local Committee is to further enhance resident representation, this committee is advantageous to study representative claims.

Many studies of local democracy have focused on citizen involvement projects throughout Denmark (Borre & Gjelstrup 2004). However, these studies have not observed the process of claim-making that goes on in participatory governance arenas.

4.4. Data collection

The data is collected through document analysis, face-to-face semi-structured interviews with participatory governance actors, observations in both Birmingham and Copenhagen, and 'shadowing of individuals'. These methods are suitable to grasp the subjectivities of actors and their perceptions in the context and are innovative since methods in the study of representation tend to overlook the importance of process. The collection of the data takes place in Copenhagen in the first year of the research and in Birmingham in the second year. The enquiries focus on claims to represent citizens and communities, participatory governance arrangements, perceptions of actors and city-specific practices.

This dissertation reveals the process of claim-making of citizen and community claims, but nevertheless, the design could be used to investigate any other claims. A repertoire of claims take place, but the study of political inclusion focuses on claims that create citizens, groups and communities as political subjects. The data collection is a process of claim identification and claim

searching in the neighbourhood participatory governance arenas. Data focuses on the forum participatory governance arena in Balsall Heath in Birmingham and a local committee participatory governance arena in Valby in Copenhagen. The juxtaposition of these two cases will highlight conditions for representation claim-making in such mode of governing.

City of Copenhagen	City of Birmingham
Valby Local Committee	Balsall Heath Forum

4.4.a Identifying and sampling representative claims in participatory governance

To focus the research, this dissertation focuses on representative claims that individuals make about groups inside or outside the participatory governance arena placing dynamics and processes are at the heart of this research. The research question asks how political inclusion takes place through representative claims in participatory governance. There are two steps to this process of identifying representative claims: 1) identifying representative claims and, 2) tracing representative claims.

To produce knowledge to answer such questions, the methods have to focus on perceptions and actions of actors in relation to the context in which they operate. Documents, interviews, observations and shadowing are suitable to understand these aspects.

4.4.b Documents

The first phase started with documentary analyses to identify the participatory governance arena and its actors from June 2007 until January 2008. This led to the formal participants in the arenas in each neighbourhood such as elected politicians, community leaders, pubic managers and citizen representatives. The documents also guided to the key actors. The documents were revisited later in the process from June 2010 until August 2010.

To locate actors, these documents are analyzed:

Valby	**Balsall Heath**
Valby Local Committee homepage, Brochures	Balsall Heath Forum Brochures, Welcome Pack
City of Copenhagen Papers	Sparkbrook Ward Documents
Hearings	Meetings and minutes

The second phase started when main actors were identified, the "snowball method" allowed to lead to the next important actors. "Gatekeepers" will be likely to shape the direction of the research since they will be "the gates" of the networks and actors (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983). This snowball rolling technique can lead to informal actors in the governance arena, beyond the actor

scope presented in the documents. As an illustration: claims such as "Maria represents women" is identified as representative claim. The snowball method then, leads to Maria.

After the identification of actors, interviews, observations and shadowing started taking place. Shifting mini-universes from Birmingham and Copenhagen can be the eye-opener to idiosyncrasies and taken-for-granted ideas of public policy makers.

4.4.c Interviews

Nineteen (19) semi-structured interviews were conducted with participatory governance actors in both cities in a period from October 2007 until November 2009 to understand how actors made sense of their practices in Birmingham and Copenhagen. Interviews are ideal to explore the social phenomena and taken-for-granted ideas and values. Moreover, interviews reveal impressions and opinions of individual experiences. Understanding how actors make sense of representation is necessary to comprehend how the claims are recognized. These interviews can be seen as a part of an ethnographical study, since the principle of technique of discovery of local beliefs and perceptions guides the data collection.

The interviews were semi-structured around issues of participation, involvement and representation in the participatory governance arena. This starting point opened doors to actors' perceptions of such concepts and their practices. This process allows for grasping how actors make sense of their world. Semi-structured interviews were the preferred method for obtaining these views since a questionnaire would not allow for understanding how they make sense of their participation in this arena. Moreover, this topic is new and context is rich, impeding the possibility of creating a questionnaire that would reflect such complexity. It was of advantage, surprisingly, that the actors were accustomed to researchers, but not necessarily suffering from research fatigue. Invitations and arrangements for interviews were done over the phone, email or in-person after observing a meeting, for example. These interviews were used to grasp how actors critically perceived such questions of representation and political inclusion.

The interview guide had a list of questions that were suggested to actors but not exactly posed word-by-word. Actors were not given the interview guide beforehand, rather the interview was semi-structured in the sense that the researcher had topics and questions but was very interested in the interviewee leading the interview. Interviews lasted from 45 to 120 minutes. The use of a hand-held recorder allowed for saving of large amounts of data to be transcribed and analyzed at a later time notes were then fully transcribed by researcher as soon as possible after each interview had taken place. Since all interviews were face-to-face, the interviewer softly controlled the conversation not allowing it to go on tangents, which can easily happen in an interview. The interviews were conducted in English language in both countries. Despite that Danish was the first language of most of the interviewees in Copenhagen, their level of English generally was advanced. Language was not a large barrier (except for an interview in Birmingham that is hard to understand because of a strong Welsh accent).

Using semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to probe upon answers and then tweak interview guide responses as significance to the research question changed. For example, direct questions such as 'who do you represent in the participatory governance arena?' showed to be

confusing. Therefore, questions had to be clarified when ambiguous areas with the use of supplementary questions. Moreover, many of the representative claims were identified outside the representation questions. For example, "The residents are against the cricket ground extension' is a representative claim that creates the residents as a political subject. This part of interview was an answer to 'how is your everyday like?", a question inspired by Henrik Wagenaar during his course on "Interpretive Analysis"(2009). This type of question is fruitful to allow the interviewee to use their own words, tell their own story and make them feel comfortable with the direction of the interview.

The drawbacks of interviewing as a method are numerous. There is a balance between the perceived advantage of "insiderness" along with the perceived disadvantage of the "outsiderness" when interviewing. As Zølner, Rasmussen and Hansen (2007) argue, an outsider can have the advantage of naivete, and being a novice. Moreover, there is a danger of the interviewer to direct the interview in a very closed manner not allowing the interviewee to speak openly. These problems are exactly the inspiration for the use of another method to ensure the quality of the data.

The use of semi-structured interviews aimed to capture the intricacies of actors' perceptions in the participatory governance. However, since the research questions are about representation, this method does not allow grasping how participants actually behave during the participatory governance meeting. Therefore, the research questions request for non-participant observations where the researcher can examine the performance of actors.

4.4.d Non-participant observations

Sixteen (16) observations were direct and non-participatory in an unobtrusive manner. The goal was to allow for the meetings and discussions to take place, without participation. Non-participant observations are important to capture moments of representative claims as they come into being. As Neuman (1997) suggests, the "researcher should delimit the observation to a specific event". Therefore, observations of formal meetings of participatory governance in Copenhagen and Birmingham were important. To understand political inclusion, observing the micro-level process of participating in necessary.

Meetings of the participatory governance arenas were the spaces of non-participant observations. The goal of the observations was to watch how representative claims take place and claims in action. These observations facilitate to cover the context of the case in their 'natural setting', as Yin (2009, p. 102) points out. Since the goal is to understand how actors perform representative claim-making, these observations are at the heart of the research. Moreover, this method serves as a way to watch action of the interviewee. Interviewees can claim to be included, however, suffer from internal exclusion. Therefore, political inclusion happens at the micro-processes and seeing how actors engage with each other in the participatory governance arena is key. Observations of meetings of participatory governance arenas where actors negotiate and collaborate provide rich data to understand process of claim-making.

4.4.e Shadowing of individuals

This study of participatory governance aims at understanding how political inclusion takes place through representative claim-making and shadowing is a very suitable method to grasp the richness of the context of both cases. In this cases of Balsall Heath and Valby, two individuals were shadowed, one in each neighborhood. These individuals have roles to fulfill in the participatory governance arena. The one in Valby has her claims easily included in the one in Balsall Heath is not a representative per se but has a significant role in the arena nonetheless. The shadowing takes place in meetings, neighborhood walks and daily activities they participate on. This tool of shadowing matches well with the purpose of the study of grasping the micro-process of participatory governance. However, the tool of shadowing overemphasizes 'roles' actors take on. Focusing on 'roles' can impede the dynamics of processes therefore, this study uses this method to grasp exactly how dynamic the process of role-playing can be, assuming that roles are unstable and flexible.

Shadowing of individuals is a good instrument to understand the day-by-day actions. This method consists of following an individual for an extended period of time and is used in Balsall Heath and Valby as a way to grasp how an actor goes about routine and fulfilling their function. Eight (8) afternoons or evening were spent with two actors in the different neighborhoods. 'Shadowing can produce the sort of first-hand, detailed data that gives the organizational researcher access to both the trivial or mundane and the difficult to articulate' (MacDonald 2005). Usually used in organizational research, this method allows for not only grasping opinions as in interviews, nor observing behavior as in observations, but a combination of both. However, the goal, as MadDonald (2005) and Bonazzi (1998) explains, is not to employ this method for data triangulation, but rather to achieve a richer view of the research setting.

Shadowing is an under-utilized method that provides rich detailed data and different perspectives than interviewing and observations. The method of shadowing has a large presence in management studies and vocational disciplines such as nursing and education (MacDonald 2005) since the method aims to find single role individuals take on. This method is often used in combination with other methods such as in-depth interviews (MacDonald 2005) or observation methods (Bonazzi 1998). Even though, shadowing can serve as a method for experiential learning (nursing students might shadow a nurse to understand the intricacies of the job), in this dissertation, shadowing is a tool seen as a 'neutral means of recording what is 'actually' happening' (MacDonald 2005, p. 463, emphasis by author). The goal is to record behavior and understand context in depth. Rod Rhodes (2005) has used shadowing as a method in his studies of 'Everyday life in a Ministry' (2005) and along Mark Bevir in Interpreting British Governance (2003). However, as Bevir and Rhodes (2003) and Finlayson (2004) also argues, this should not mean that actors behave the way they do solely because of their beliefs. 'We need to interrogate their beliefs (through interviewing them) (Finlayson 2004, p.137).

This study uses shadowing of participants in search of moments of representative claim-making and acting out their roles rather than attempting to survey the whole day of activities. MacDonald (2005) argues for the possibility of 'focusing on 'episodes' of managerial activity rather than the continuous study of a whole day'.

Applying the highly time-consuming tool of shadowing to these actors outside the formal meetings reveals the rich context in which they act, allowing for a better understanding of the 'why' actions

take place. The method of shadowing is particularly relevant to answer questions of 'why' and not only 'how' and 'what' (MacDonald 2005). The difficulties of shadowing lie in the access to the field and the relationship between the shadower and the shadowed. Similar to problems with interviewing, gaining access can be difficult and time-consuming. Shadowing in itself is time-consuming. Moreover, the relationship between shadower and shadowed may develop after time specially because, unlike in a non-participant observation, the researcher can ask clarification questions during the shadowing period. The problem of 'going native' is also easy to happen since both parties spend a lot of time together, breaking down barriers.

4.4.e Strengths and weaknesses of methods

DOCUMENTS
Strengths of Document Analysis
○ Provides information about goals and intentions ○ Pictures on documents should not be undermined ○ Higher validity of information
Weaknesses of Document Analysis
○ Danish language problem: no understanding of what connotations words and sentences carry ○ Difficult to choose relevant documents to understand political inclusion within participatory governance

INTERVIEWS
Strengths of Interviews
○ Focuses on actors' perceptions and opinions ○ Many representative claims are made
Weaknesses of Interviews
○ Difficult to grasp who is excluded from the processes ○ Difficult to understand how they became legitimate representatives ○ Young female problem ○ Many "no shows" ○ Possible research fatigue with certain actors

OBSERVATIONS
Strengths of Observations
○ Firsthand experience on how interactions take place

○ Excellent way to see the limits of discussed topics ○ Provides "visible demographic" understanding of participation ○ Allows for analyzing internal inclusion and exclusion
Weaknesses of Observations
○ Little knowledge of Danish language ○ Difficult to be a non-participant

SHADOWING
Strengths of Shadowing
○ Allows for studying actions in context ○ Good for recording behavior
Weaknesses of Shadowing
○ Gaining access can be difficult ○ Shadower risks 'going native' ○ Highly time-consuming

4.5. Data analysis

The analysis of the data from interviews, observations, documents and shadowing concentrates on political inclusion through representative claims. As a way to unmask these taken-for-granted perceptions of actors, this research investigates how actors make sense of their environment. As Chapter 2 shows, representative claims are made and are subject to rules of recognition by the participatory governance arena. The goal is to analyze these claims and identify these rules.

Transcripts and notes were analyzed and coded by identifying representative claims and pulling out visible rules of recognition for the acceptance of certain claims and rejection of others. Rules of recognition were not always voiced but in combination with observations and shadowing, the understanding of context often provided rules of recognition.

As mentioned earlier, a repertoire of claims are made but the analysis focuses on representative claims that construct political subjects that are subject for political inclusion within the participatory governance. The intent is to capture the process of representative claim-making so claims and their process are at the heart of this study. The data sheds light at the way actors make sense of representation in their environment. In this approach, ways of knowing are always historically, culturally and socially specific ways of knowing that are embedded or situated in contexts that are themselves historically and culturally specific and not "natural".

4.6 Possible limitations

The interpretive analyst assembles a context to analyze social phenomena. Context refers to the values, beliefs and historical circumstances of the phenomena. The researcher needs familiarity to grasp the contextual knowledge to understand how actors make sense of the world. As Yanow explains, this familiarity is obtained through social interaction with the participants (Yanow 2000). In this way, the researcher can grasp the 'sense-making' of actors and be confronted with surprises and puzzles that contradict the expectations of the researcher.

As an insider, the researcher is recognized but it is as an outsider that the analyst reflects. As an outsider, the analyst faces difficulties of "holding on" and diving into the research whereas as an insider that the analyst blends in and social and political action become oblivious. The analyst is also guilty of constructing stories to give meaning to the world. However, since the researcher had not experienced life in Denmark or in the United Kingdom before starting this research, the researcher is an equidistant observant in both Copenhagen and Birmingham.

The chosen methods were effective in gathering data about representative claim-making however, are insufficient to grasp certain exclusions. This study can say very little about what happens prospectively in the participatory governance. Representative claims that produce political inclusion during the meetings observed, for example, could be excluded in another future meeting. Furthermore, these methods do not permit the detection of *external exclusion*. What has not been presented in the participatory governance was not tracked. Actors carrying representative claims that did not 'show up' or were not invited to the arena, nor were featured in the shadowing, are excluded from this study.

To sum up, this chapter shows how two case studies and a combination of methods along with a specific analytical framework allow responding to the overall research questions of political inclusion through representative claim-making in participatory governance. Comparative methods, semi-structured interviews, non-participant observations, document analysis and shadowing were the methods of choice in the cases of local participatory governance arenas in Birmingham and Copenhagen. This study places representative claims as units of analysis instead of repeating traditional styles of studying inclusion through individuals as units of analysis. Moreover, this study innovatively uses the tool of shadowing individuals to understand complexities of the context and dynamics of actor performance since representative claim-making is a process.

Chapter 5: A local participatory governance arena in Birmingham

The trend towards developing local democracy has gained momentum throughout Scandinavia and Western Europe over the last decades (Bogason 2004). Initiatives that promote local participatory governance have mushroomed in European cities. These initiatives promote the involvement of community leaders, civic associations and resident groups in implementation of services at the local level. These new participatory approaches aim to widen the participatory arena, and stimulate civic life, invigorating democracy. However, a discussed in earlier chapter, some scholars argue such initiatives challenge the roles of elected councilors and politicians potentially corroding traditional representative institutions. At the same time as local governance emerges, policy-makers attempt to ensure that such governance processes are inclusive of different perspectives, voices and opinions.

This chapter introduces the case study of a local participatory governance arena in Balsall Heath in Birmingham. First, this chapter shows how policy documents that promote participatory governance arrangements fail to address the link between inclusion and representation and also fail to address important questions of representation. Second, the chapter delves into the participatory governance arena of Balsall Heath showing its design and functions in the support for involvement of citizens and the community. Third, the chapter explains the importance of the arena as a representative claim-making arena. Their involvement depends heavily on local representatives who make claims about their constituencies to gain legitimacy as representatives. Illustrations of this process of political inclusion through representative claim-making show how the process of representing is much more intricate than scholars explained, documents expressed and policy-makers expected.

The English city of Birmingham, a global city with a local heart, is an excellent case to study local participatory governance. Birmingham has been the recipient and contributor of such policies that focus on local governance and promote collaboration. From central government as well as from grass roots activists and organizations, initiatives flourished into the neighborhoods and local governance gained popularity and legitimacy.

The City of Birmingham

Birmingham is the 2nd largest British city with 1,200 million. More than 40% of the city are of ethnic minority background. Birmingham has the largest local authority of Europe. Following a reorganisation of boundaries in June 2004, 121 Birmingham City Councillors representing over one million people, in 40 wards.

This unitary authority is responsible for running all the local services with exceptions of the ones run by the joint boards (Fire, Police and Trash). Some service provision has been handed to District, which have area committees that consist of local councillors from that district.

The City of Birmingham is amongst one of the 86 deprived local authorities in the UK. (Neighborhoods, 2009) This deprivation makes Birmingham eligible for central government approaches that 'go local'. This deprivation receives special attention from central government. The relationship between central and local government becomes key in the combat of deprivation and 'going local' becomes a crucial step to close the gap between Birmingham and other local authorities in the UK.

5.1. Central and local initiatives

Local participatory governance initiatives have become widespread in England. Local governments are not only subject to them, but can also promote this mode of governing. Mainly in the areas of service delivery, health services, community revitalisation (Channan), local authorities along with central government turn to community involvement and citizen participation. The city of Birmingham experiences this first-hand raising questions of the democratic quality and capacity of these participatory governance arenas.

At the same time, political parties have focused on the involvement of local people. New Labour places the 'community' high on their political agenda. As Blair stated in 1998, a key challenge of progressive politics is to use the state as an enabling force, protecting effective communities and voluntary organizations and encourage their growth to tackle new needs, in partnership as appropriate. This statement shows that for Blair, communities exist and are taken for granted. Moreover, these communities can develop through collaboration and partnership. As advocates for communities, partnership and collaboration gain momentum, the quality of democracy in this mode of governing becomes a concern.

Many initiatives have been forwarded to promote a relationship between central and local government focusing on the local governance and the idea of neighborhoods and communities. Local Area Agreements (LAAs) are examples of such initiatives. LAAs are strategies that set out priorities for a local area agreed between central government and a local area (the local authority and Local Strategic Partnership) and other key partners at the local level. Another initiative is the Community Empowerment Fund (CEF) that provides central government resources to community voluntary sectors to promote collaboration with the Local Area Agreements.

The 2001 National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (NSNR) is another important illustration of the move towards local governance. The NSNR aims at 88 deprived neighborhoods within the local authorities. 'The National Strategy for Neighborhood Renewal places community involvement at the heart of the strategy.' (Gaventa 2004) Neighborhood Renewal Fund, available for

neighbourhoods combating of deprivation, enables local authorities along with Local Strategic Partnerships to improve services. (Communities and Local Government, 2009)

As a recipient of central government support to combat deprivation, the city of Birmingham has also put in place a number of council initiatives such as the programme "Devolution: going local" that focuses on 'devolution and localization' (Communities and Local Government, 2009). In 2004, this program altered the way the city delivered services by devolving and localizing. In devolving, councilors gained devolved powers to run a wide range of services and localizing because a large staff was moved to the local offices to manage and deliver services. More than 100 million pounds were shifted to the local level from central authorities aiming to:

- increase the number of people feeling able to get involved and influence decisions locally;
- improve key local services such as community safety and the environment, and introduce integrated ways of delivering services such as neighbourhood management;
- make it easier for the Council and other public agencies such as the Police and the Health Service to work together at a local level.

(City of Birmingham website, June 10, 2009)

Ten constituencies have been created by the Council as a manner to localize services and needs. Each constituency consists of 12 elected local councilors. "Constituency Strategic Partnerships have been set up across all ten constituencies, bringing together the Council, public agencies, business sector, and voluntary and community organizations to develop a shared vision for the area, and plan services for local people in a more coordinated way."(Birmingham-Going local, 2009). Even more local are the Ward Committees, each with 3 local councilors, comprise the Constituency. Ward Committees approve and grant Neighborhood Forums. Moreover, the Ward can nominate organizations for city council grants.

This move towards local neighborhood governance is also supported by the "Local Code of Governance", in which the City of Birmingham commits itself to a "Good Governance Framework" (2007). In this framework, besides effectiveness and efficient management, the aims focus on cooperation between service providers such as:

-Focusing on the purpose of the authority and on outcomes for the community and creating and implementing a vision for the local area;

-Engaging with local people and other stakeholders to ensure robust public accountability

This emphasis on the local governance raises questions of democracy that need more attention. The City has forwarded an initiative called "Democracy in Birmingham" to ensure accountability, openness and transparency (City of Birmingham website, June 2009). This online system provides the minutes for the meeting where decisions are taken place and guides for the meetings. Meetings are open to public. Moreover, as the "Local Code of Governance" suggests, the City of Birmingham has created some sub-groups have created specific groups of stakeholders to work with specific themes. These groups work with representative groups such as older women, refugees, young people or resident groups. However, Article II shows that being included is a process that

takes recognition and Chapter 2 shows that gaining access as a stakeholder is a tricky process through which representative claims are made. Therefore, a closer look into this process these initiatives in Birmingham are necessary to understand how this takes place.

Duty to Involve

Initiatives that promote local governance are coupled with initiatives that promote involvement of the different stakeholders and the local community. Introduced through the Local Government and Involvement in Local Health Act 2007 and came into force on 1 April 2009, the Duty to Involve is an initiative in Birmingham, which aims at giving opportunities for people to have their say. Engagement and empowerment are key to the success of such program. This means that authorities promote consultation with and involvement of *representatives of local persons* across all authority functions. (Duty to Involve, 2009)

This initiative does not replace other representative institutions nor other existing statutory requirements to inform, consult and promote participation. It rather aims to invigorate these existing institutions. Moreover, this does not aim at diffuse power from elected local councilors, but invigorate engagement. Therefore, the duty of involving and engaging *representatives of local persons* needs to be appropriately exercised to ensure empowerment and engagement of local persons.

The phrase *"representatives of local persons"* refers to a mix of persons such as individuals, groups, businesses or organizations the authority considers likely to be affected by, or have an interest in the authority function. Representatives of local persons, according to the Duty to Involve, can be 'local citizens and those who work, study or live in the area (including those who work for the authority); visitors; service users; third sector organizations; businesses; bodies such as parish councils; and anyone else likely to be affected by, or interested in, the function. '(Duty to Involve, 2009)

Authorities should consider the diverse groups within the community who might be affected by, or interested in, a particular authority function. This consideration of diverse groups is also expressed in the "Local Code of Governance" mentioned earlier. In the code, the City of Birmingham has created some sub-groups have created specific groups of stakeholders to work with specific themes. These groups work with representative groups such as older women, refugees, young people or resident groups.

The definition of these groups such as older women, refugees and young people are flexible and often problematic. Local authorities create sub-groups that need representatives but also, some individuals claim to represent certain groups. Local governance programs support community representation through representatives of local persons. However, Birmingham is a super diverse city, as Vertovec (2007) describes. Large numbers of migrants, refugees and ethnic minorities create a social fabric that is new and intricate. England has focused on groups, however, in a time of super-diversity, groups are numerous and difficult to represent (Vertovec 2007).

As most of Britain has an old history as a country of immigration, public discourse in Britain became focused on race and race relations. Immigration policy was never a separate pillar in Britain

since policies have been incremental (Zetter et al 2005). Policies were geared towards restriction of numbers of entrants along with policies for race relations.

In the next decades, the large number of people concentrated in the industrial sectors and the decrease of this sector posed difficulties. The British created laws that emphasized tolerance and prevented discrimination. Tolerance and discrimination focused on groups of ethnic minorities or migrants. Therefore, the idea of groups has been prominent in policies geared towards people living in the cities.

The city of Birmingham is exemplary of initiatives that support participatory governance arenas to involve citizens and communities. Citizens and community representatives make claims about themselves and others in these arenas. A case of such arena shows how representative claim-making takes place within participatory governance arenas. Moreover, since the city of Birmingham has a particular history and tradition, observing claim-making in this context shows which claims are accepted or rejected.

Chapters 1 and 2 show the intricate process of political inclusion into participatory governance. These initiatives in the City of Birmingham reflect the designs of participatory governance arena, however, these documents and initiatives do not explain which representatives of local persons should participate and how they should participate. There is an assumption that if representatives are involved they either help solve problems or they invigorate democracy and in an ideal scenario, they probably accomplish both. These initiatives also fail to explain that the process of being recognized as a stakeholder is a struggle in itself. Article II argues that gaining access to negotiation arenas is a process that requires that actors recognize one another as stakeholders. In practice, however, policy documents do not reflect that these representatives face a process of being recognized and could suffer internal inclusion.

Scholarly literature portrays the problems with group representation however policy-makers do not address such problems in these initiatives. Multiculturalist and feminist scholars have well dealt with such problems due to the difficulty of delineating groups and categorizing individuals (Kymlicka 1995, Young 2000). Governance theorists have also criticized the concept of community involvement that is often taken for granted without realizing the problems of group representation when attempting to involve the community. Article I and II argue that group representation is tricky and the process of finding and/or accepting a group representative is an important part of the process that is key to the participatory governance arena. An in-depth study of one of these local participatory governance arenas shows how these issues are played out in action and produce knowledge of political inclusion through representative claim-making in participatory governance arenas.

5.2 The case of Balsall Heath as a local participatory governance arena

Balsall Heath is an inner-city area in the Sparkbrook Ward in the Hall Green Constituency in the city of Birmingham. With a population of around 15,000 people, with 9,000 of voting age, the area is diverse with many people from West Indies, Africa and the Indian sub-continent (Birmingham City 2009). After the Birmingham local elections in 2008, there remains no overall control, with the

120 seats being divided between the Conservative (49 councillors), Labour, (36), Liberal Democrat (32) parties and Respect (3). The British National Party had no seats. The Respect Party is a new left-wing political party created in January 2004, led by Salma Yaqoob, Councillor of Sparkbrook Ward. Respect has been very popular in the Sparkbrook Ward. Respect party gains the votes of 'Old Labor'. Old Labor voters claim Blair has moved the party too far right. Respect has performed well in areas with large Muslim populations suggesting that it has succeeded in attracting the protest votes of some Muslims who feel alienated by Labour's support for the war. The success of the Respect party in Balsall Heath is also attributed to the detail that Sixty percent of Balsall Heath area is Muslim.

The Balsall Heath area since the 1950s had attracted hundreds of prostitutes to the streets and crime rate was high. The area was highly deprived. Community leaders started involving public service providers as a technique for community action however the city of Birmingham was suffering due to the decline of the manufacturing industries in the area. The City Council focused on a program that regenerated the city centre into a robust commercial centre. However, the inner neighborhoods did not receive nearly as much attention.

The success of the present participatory governance can be traced back with origin as early as in the 1980s when a few people in the area created a "Building a Better Balsall Heath" campaign to combat prostitution and drug problems. The main leaders were representatives from the mosque, the Anglican and the Methodist church along with trade unionists and a dozen of residents. Together, they succeeded to organize a community newspaper where local voices were represented. Despite deprivation, some individuals were able to cooperate in order to reach goals. In this case, deprivation did not impede organizing.

Eventually, these activists decided to call this group the Balsall Heath Neighborhood Forum and the first elections for the executive took place in 1992. Functioning on a voluntary basis, the Forum mainly attempted to resolve problems. Due to the large numbers of problems, the Forum decided to apply for funds to fund an employed staff. At the time of the study, the Forum consists of 12 resident elected members, 6 residents who represent voluntary and faith organisations and 4 who are co-opted. (Balsall Heath Forum website, 2009).

Balsall Heath operates within a Neighborhood Strategic Partnership (NSP 2009) where a neighborhood manager and one 'identified champion' from each statutory service work with the residents. The Strategic Partnership prepares a Neighborhood Development that is reviewed every couple of years to meet the demands of the neighborhood. Within the NSP lie pillars such as safety, heath, environment and others. The neighborhood manager has the task of working with public service providers and assist in the re-fitting the providers' services to the needs of the neighborhood. The Forum claims to represent the local voice both to the public and private sector with service providers.

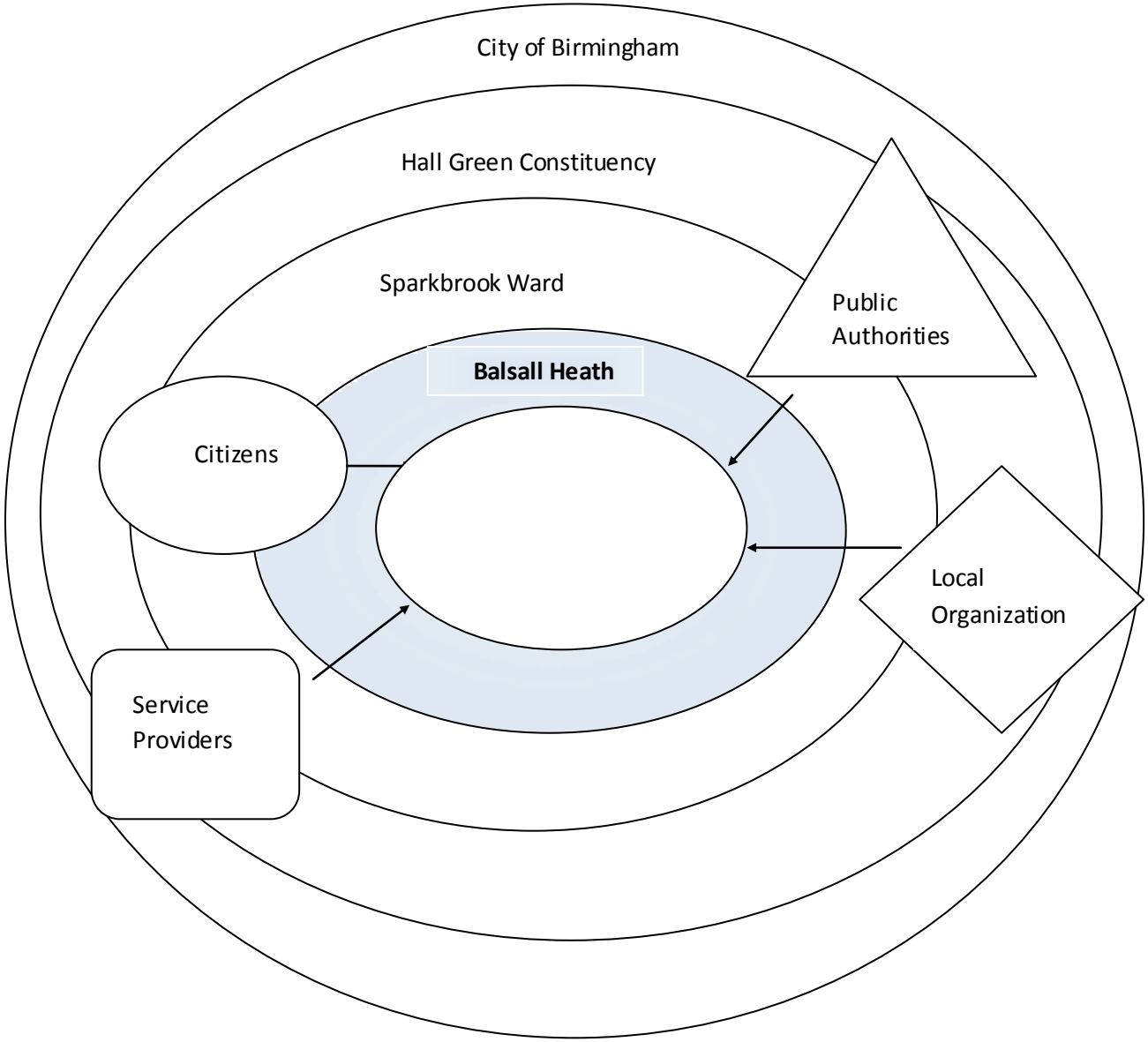
Mapping the Balsall Heath participatory governance arena

The case of Balsall Heath Forum exemplifies a local participatory governance arena. Some activists at the early stage were responsible for raising attention to community needs. The participatory governance arena is mainly stirred by the Balsall Heath Forum that has five main goals:

Balsall Heath Forum main goals

- Represent the area, find a common voice to present to service providers such as housing associations, police and council.
- Capacity building
- Enhance services such as environment and safety
- Join up neighborhood management
- Spread the word and develop similar projects in other interested neighborhoods (Interview with Bob, 2009)

The participatory governance arena therefore, consists of the actors in Balsall Heath



Source: own

Public Authorities
Local councillors
Police

Local Organizations
Balsall Heath Forum
Neighborhood wardens
Voluntary Organisations
Forum and District theme groups

Service Providers
Housing Associations
Environment
Traffic
Schools
Fire service
Youth Offending Service
Probation Officers
Social Care and Health

Citizens
Residents groups
Citizens (Elected Resident Representatives, Young people and citizens)

The main stirrer of this participatory governance is The Balsall Heath Forum, organizing meetings, creating a common voice, creating resident representative elections. Along with the appointed staff of the Balsall Heath Forum, there is an elected committee of 18 residents. Every year six of those residents stand down and the new six are elected, always making up 18 residents. Each set of 6 serves for 3 years. They are elected by people in the neighborhood. Each few of streets gets a resident representative.

This participatory governance arena promotes community involvement, enhancement of representation, citizen participation and local people involvement. Moreover, these initiatives support collaboration and cooperation. This support for citizen involvement has overlooked certain aspects of representation. Initiatives miss to address how representatives make claims about their constituencies to participate in the governance arena. Moreover, the participatory governance is a locus for claims to be made in an environment. Different documents show there is a link between participants, inclusion and representation. To include different perspectives, representatives of local people, these initiatives ask for:

Balsall Heath

Increase the number of people feeling able to get **involved** and **influence** decisions locally	City Of Birmingham, 2009
Engaging with local people and other stakeholders to ensure robust public accountability	(Good Governance Framework 2007)
Involve representatives of local persons	(Duty to Involve, 2009)
Allow representatives to co-produce and **co-design** policies	(Duty to Involve, 2009)

Table

In terms of the quality of democracy, the "Duty to Involve" fails to clarify the process of finding and/or accepting representatives. The initiative gives authorities 3 main duties: (1) to provide information, offer opportunities for involvelment; (2) to allow representatives to co-produce and co-design policies; (3) to allow representatives to assess services. The first duty is to provide *representatives of local persons* with appropriate information about services, policies and decisions which affect them or might be of interest to them. This information should be easily accessible and effortlessly comprehensible. The provision of information should make possible for these *representatives* to not only get involved when decisions affect them, but also to have their say, and be heard. The second duty is to involve focuses on allowing local representatives to co-design and collaborate with the authority in designing policies and services. This could mean commissioning and carrying out services themselves. The third duty is to provide representatives the opportunity to work with the authority in assessing services.

These duties of the representatives are spelled out in a clear manner, however, the initiatives underplays the importance of the process that leads a representative to become a legitimate

representative. Furthermore, it is important to note that the intent is that participants 'co-produce and co-design' as the Table above shows. The Birmingham initiatives focus on involving and engaging representatives to co-produce, co-design and influence decisions. These points hint an attempt to empower local persons since one of the goals is to increase the number of people feeling like they can influence. Therefore, this is a nothing less than a request for political inclusion of participants since they should not only be present, but also influence local decisions. Illustrations of how this takes place follow in this next section.

5.3 Balsall Heath

This chapter explores how representative claims making is played out in participatory governance arenas. The process of representative claim-making is complicated and there is not enough knowledge about the processes and how they contribute to ensuring the democratic quality of participatory governance. Initiatives that attempt to enhance local democracy through political inclusion of individuals and group representatives take place in this arena, however, since the process of representative claim-making is crucial to political inclusion, this chapter uses the model of political inclusion in representative claim-making in Chapter 2 to understand how claims are made, how the audience of the participatory governance arena uses their rules of recognition to judge this claim and what that means for political inclusion. This case study of a local participatory governance arena in Birmingham consists of interviews with local actors along with observations of local meetings and shadowing individuals in the local participatory governance arena in Balsall Heath to produce knowledge of the complex process of representative claim-making.

Since a representative claim is an act or instance of representation take place and a representative relationship is constructed, the amount of representative claims (made about others, or about one self) were enormous during this study. Formal representatives in the arenas made claims about their constituencies, service providers made claims about the interests of their agencies and organizations. However, since the research questions are interested in political inclusion, the criteria to identify claims is to find representative claims about individuals and groups that constitute them as political subjects for political inclusion.

Five individuals stood out as the makers of representative claims that are theoretically interesting and empirically surprising. These claims illustrate the complexity and diversity of representative-claim-making and the diversity of formal and informal positions from where claims can be made. Bob, the Chief Executive of the participatory governance arena, as an expert and pioneer of the arena, keeps the storyline of the arena alive and makes representative claims that agree with this storyline. Ali, the elected resident representative makes a representative claim as a member of the Asian group and has his claim rejected since the claim was not up to date with the current policies in practice and with the narrative of the arena. Mustafa, the neighborhood warden illuminates that context for the political inclusion of representative claims is very limited. Despite he is not recognized as a formal representative during the negotiation meetings at the Forum, as soon as he steps out of the arena, he represents the Forum, not only substantively, but also visually. The women's organization representative Saeeda illustrates how the role of representative can be taken on without acceptance. Actors in the Forum claim Saeeda represents 'women' because she is a role model for women in the area however, she does not accept this role. Ibrahim, the elected local councilor represents the constituency by claiming he is distant from them, legitimizing his 'representativeness' through developing close contact with the representatives. The elections allow

him to participate in the Forum, despite his claims to be unaware of resident interests. Moreover, his descriptive characteristics allow for the evoking of different audiences inside the neighborhood.

Individuals are placed or place themselves as representatives of groups in relation to the participatory governance arena. However, despite that individuals can be accepted as representatives, they are subject to (new or extra) rules on a claim by claim basis. The analysis uses the Model in Chapter 2 to understand political inclusion through representative claim-making and follows these steps for the five individuals:

1) introduces the individual;
2) shows their function in the participatory governance according to Rehfeld's set of rules of recognition that shows that a representative is legitimate as long as i) (S) selected by an appropriate agent who, ii) (D) uses a valid decision rule, and when iii) (Q) he or she is a member of a qualified set[2] (Rehfeld 2006);
3) presents representative claims individuals make and the claim characteristics according to Saward's model that show that claims can be internal, external, single, multiple, particular, genenal (Saward 2006)[3];
4) shows how representative claim s are included or excluded according to rules of recognition that can be the same or different from the ones that render the individual legitimate as a representative.

5.3.a Bob, the chief executive

Bob is an Englishman in his 60s the Chief Executive of the Balsall Heath Forum. He has been in Balsall Heath for decades now. He was a pioneer in the active fight against prostitution and drugs in the area in the 80s. He left his job as a Sociology Professor at University of Birmingham to devote himself to the regeneration of Balsall Heath. "I don't see myself as an academic. I just wanted to get the job done, so I left the university", said Bob (2009). He helped organize the picketing during that time and slowly was able to create Balsall Heath Forum. Bob as as the Chief Executive Officer of the Balsall Heath Forum, and pioneer creator of the Forum, has a lot of influence and leverage on this participatory governance (Balsall Heath Forum).

Author of articles and books on the development of civic capacity in neighborhoods, Bob has proposes a model that entails the building of local champions that act as a bridge from citizens service providers and politicians. "Local Champions have to create a voice for the neighborhood and act as soft activists", he argues (2009). Soft activism is key for his model that focuses on finding empowered individuals that make change or are capable of making change.

Bob is a 'legend' not only in the neighborhood but in Birmingham. He gets a lot of credit for the regeneration of Balsall Heath. Prime Minister David Cameron from the Conservative Party contacted him many years ago to learn about his project in the area. His support has made Balsall

[2] For more details on these rules, see Chapter 2. The rules are merely descriptive and not normative.
[3] For more details on the claims characteristics go to Chapter 2.

Heath exemplary of capacity building through citizen involvement, not only in Birmingham but in other parts of the country. [4]

According to Rehfeld's model, Bob is accepted as a representative of the Balsall Heath Forum because of these rules of recognition

Bob and rules of recognition

S: selected by himself, activist D:expertise Q: expertise

As an expert, Bob has highly contributed to the creation of the Balsall Heath participatory governance arena. His claims are often legitimate since many in the neighborhood, city and (even academia) perceive him as an expert. This perception of expertise gives him legitimacy to speak for the Forum. Bob explains how he believes the representative structure of the neighborhood should look like. This representative structure was his creation as the pioneer in managing the area.

During the interview, Bob explained how the resident representatives are legitimate because they are elected. "About 140 people vote in the resident elections", he says (Bob 2009). Those numbers don't amount to more than 1% of the 14,000 residents of Balsall Heath. However, he doesn't mention that. Instead, he praises the Balsall Heath participatory governance arena for using traditional institutional rule of election to legitimate representatives.

"In order to represent the area, we need individual people who will network with each other, get into the four corners of the neighborhood, and distil a common neighborhood agenda, a common voice, a common view" (Bob 2009).

In this statement, Bob shows that the resident representative should construct a voice. The function of representatives is described and prescribed as a duty to be fulfilled by the representative, rather than mirroring interests from the residents not descriptively nor symbolically representing. When asked if this model was challenged, he responded:

"They (Balsall Heathans) can challenge it by saying they don't want to take part or don't want to go along with what we are doing. They could stand for election, join the executive, and ask why we are doing all these things" (Bob 2009).

Elections are very important for Bob therefore, being elected is a rule of recognition to be recognized as a resident representative.

Bob speaks for the participatory governance arena and sets the subject as 'we, at the Balsall Heath Forum'. He speaks on behalf of a larger group as pushes for a certain voice. As an expert, as a member of the Forum, he speaks on their behalf.

When asked about the roles of the politicians in the neighborhood, Bob explains:

[4] The neighborhood of Balsall Heath is currently in 2010 being used as an example for the new 'Big Society' initiatives of the new government in power since 2010.

> "We are saying that politicians should actually alter, change the way they behave as politicians and spend at least some time in the neighborhoods that they represent and they can only do that if they got the elected residents actively liaising with them, talking to them, showing them what is needed in each of their neighborhoods" (Bob 2009).

This expectation of politicians is not fulfilled by the parliamentary constituency that according to him, rarely comes to Birmingham. The local councillors, however are praised by Bob as the first councilors that keep a close relationship with the neighborhood. Bob and the councillors praise close relationships to citizens. Interviews with Councilors Ibrahim and Sadaf showed that they are proud of this close relationship to the constitutents.

Observations of meetings show that Bob is the pioneer of the Balsall Heath Forum, his representative claims are easily included even though he does not sit at the negotiation table during the meetings. Often during the meetings, the questions are directed to him sitting in the midst of the residents.

Bob argues that social cohesion is not a problem in the neighborhood. As the Chief Executive Officer, he argues that Balsall Heath does not suffer from problems related to its diversity despite that the City of Birmingham has social cohesion as high on their agenda. However, during the interview, Bob says his staff at the Forum do not agree with him on that note. Bob and the neighborhood manager are English and the staff is mainly from visible ethnic minorities, from administrative assistants to neighborhood wardens. Bob promotes the debate the story that Balsall Heath does not suffer from social cohesion, despite that he admits that many do not agree. Dryzek and Nyemeyer (2008) explain this point in his article about discursive representation. For these authors, the quality of democracy lies in the inclusion of different discourses and this is a clear case of the promotion of one discourse, excluding others. Since Bob has a strong voice in the neighborhood, he has leverage in dominating the narratives that take place in the participatory governance. Later illustrations of observations show how this impacts representative claims.

During the interview, Bob points to the women's organization leader Saeeda as a representative of women. He describes the disempowerment of the women in the neighborhood, however, he still claims Saeeda is representative of women because she is empowered and not subdued as many other women in the neighborhood. The neighborhood manager Matt during his interview, also made the same claim that Saeeda represents women in the neighborhood. Saeeda also talks about the importance of empowering women in the neighborhood, however, as later described, she does not believe she represents women and would not like to take part in politics in the neighborhood.

Claim	'Saeeda represents women'
Claim features	External, Explicit, General, Multiple
Audience	Accept
Rules of recognition	Bob is an expert, early founders of the arena

This claim is external since he makes a claim about a subject (Saeeda) that is other than himself. The claim-maker is not the same as the subject of representation. Moreover, the claim is explicit because he clearly describes her as representing women. The claim is also particular putting in detail who the subject and the audience is, but lacks particularity and is very general. It is not clear if Saeeda represents interests, opinions, physical characteristics or something else.

Bob makes a representative claim about Saeeda show that representation can happen independent of authorization from the representative. Bob, as the Chief Executive and an expert, makes representative claims on others even if they don't accept it. Actors can be representative without their own acceptance. Representation is audience-related and not constituency-related, as Rehfeld already suggests. Moreover, it is important that representation is not individually-bounded in the sense that representatives represent, rather, individuals can make representative claims about others.

Despite that Bob argues Balsall Heath does not suffer problems of social cohesion, he informally claims Saeeda represents women. Matt, the neighborhood manager, during his interview, also made the same claim about Saeeda. Even they deny problems of social cohesion, they show that women should be represented, claiming that women are suffering marginalization.

5.3.b Ali, the resident representative

Ali is an elected resident representative in Balsall Heath. He is a tall Pakistani tall man, in his 40s and very passionate about his role in the neighborhood. During the ward and local meetings, Ali is enthusiastic and outspoken.

He is well-known in the neighborhood, greets many as he walks in the room and sits along the other Pakistani men in the middle of the room. Many women tend to sit in the back of the room or stand in the room next door watching the kids. During the meetings, Ali often has an opinion or a comment.

According to Rehfeld's rules of recognition, Ali is recognized as a resident representative to participate in the participatory governance arena.

Ali and rules of recognition

S: selected by residents D: elected by residents in his area Q: Resident in the area

Ali's representative claim when faced with rules with recognition is rejected because the rules that are used to accept him in the function of representative are not the same on a claim by claim basis. Rules of recognition are flexible and temporal. This illustration shows precisely that the language, process and content of the representative claim impacts its possibility of inclusion and exclusion.

In one meeting, the police was present at the table and the items on the evening agenda were education and anti-social behavior in the neighborhood. Tired of waiting for anti-social behavior to be discussed, Ali got up from his chair and asked for the topic change. The request was accepted. The chair changed the topic. The police introduced a new chief of Police and explained their new strategy. This strategy consisted of finding local partner residents that would watch what goes on in their streets and form time to time, report to the Police. Ali rose his hand and made a complaint.

"The problem is all the officers are white. We need more Asian police officers. The kids don't trust the white officers." claimed Ali about the Asian group (2009).

The Chair did not let the Police respond and said*: "This is community cohesion now"(2009)* And quickly answered someone else's questions.

Claim	We need more Asian police officers
Claim Features	Internal, Implicit, Multiple, Particular
Audience	Reject
Rules of recognition	Expired claim due to policy change

This is a representative claim because Ali presents himself along with others as knowing the needs of a group, in this case, a group he also belongs to. It is an internal claim and it is an explicit claim because he voices it. This claim is also particular because it sets out who the representative and the object is. The claim is multiple allowing for many interpretations of who he refers to when he says "we". Does he mean "we, the Asians"? Does he mean "we, the residents"? It is not clear.

The Chair rejected his claim and instead, asserted community cohesion. This rejection shows that the rules of recognition are contextual. Community cohesion or social cohesion is a policy that has developed in the past years, originating from the Conservative government. Policies of social cohesion and community cohesion replaced the so-called failed multiculturalism. During multiculturalist policies, group claims were acceptable since the core of multicultural England was to recognize and celebrate group differences. However, social cohesion moves away from this idea of ethnic minorities as groups and focuses on local neighborhood cohesion. For example, the Sparkbrook Ward used to fund many projects for Yemeni boys, Somali women and others. However, these group divisions are less celebrated in the new policy and funds are dispersed in different manners such as youth, sports and other categories that go beyond cultures.

Ali made a request for the Asian group. However, policies do not support such group ideas and the Chair in the participatory arena rejected Ali's request. If during multiculturalist policies, maybe such a claim would have been accepted because descriptive representation was perceived as acceptable. Past programs of quotas for ethnic minorities show this importance. This shows that a representative claim in this arena has to be up to date with national policies. These policies permeate to the local level and the participatory governance arena actors easily adapted to such changes. Asians might want more Asian police officers or residents might not trust white officers but that is not important here. The claim is not considered valid enough to be included as a legitimate interest because these requests go against the social cohesion policy, not because of how representative of the constituency it is.

According to the model in Chapter 2, this shows the limits of representation in the participatory governance since claims have expiration date. Representative claims are subject to rules of recognition that are flexible and malleable. Ali, despite his legitimate 'resident representative' role (after all, he was elected), cannot simply speak for his residents. On a claim by claim basis, the process of representing is intricate. His claim was made, but not accepted because policy had changed and the validity of such claim had expired.

This second illustration of resident representative Ali shows the temporal dimensions of rules and that claim by claim basis is important when understanding inclusion. Claims expire. Group claims

on ethnicity are easily excluded, group claims should follow the policy of social cohesion that do not emphasis group on race or ethnicity.

5.3.c Mustafa, the neighborhood warden

Mustafa is a neighborhood warden of Balsall Heath. He is in his 40's, married with 3 children and comes originally from Mirpur in Pakistan. He is employed by the Balsall Heath Forum, the organization that stirs the participatory governance arena. Mustafa works full-time to create a link between the citizens and service providers. The interview with him took place in March 2009 and shadowing took place through 4 days from July until November 2009 walking with him around the neighborhood as he does his job.

The case of this individual shows exactly how contextual performance of representation can be. As Mustafa moves around the neighborhood from arena to arena, he experiences different rules of recognition that change his performance as a representative. In some instances he is a legitimate representative, in others, he is not. Moreover, just as much politics take place on day to day activities such as getting things done.

These claims show the dynamics of the process. Mustafa makes representative claims showing that claims are made, but if rules are not in place, representative claims can be illegitimate. Even though he does the function of representing exactly as Balsall Heath Forum expects, the rules of recognition in place do not allow for the recognition of the claims.

Mustafa, in the interview, complained he is not invited to sit at the front table in meetings. "We are not that special unfortunately, I wish were but nobody wants to put us on the panel They don't care about what we think, we cannot sit at the table with them." The Balsall Heath Forum does not sit at the table next to the service providers, public authorities and local councilors. However, the way Mustafa complained, it sounds as if neighborhood wardens as a group are not much heard by the others. The complaint about not being invited to the table was stated as 'we the wardens'.

According to Rehfeld's rules of recognition, Mustafa is not accepted as a representative in the participatory governance arena because the rules that the audience uses do not recognize him.

Mustafa and rules of recognition

S: Selected by Balsall Heath Forum D:Well-connected and dedicated Q:Resident in the area, Asian

Mustafa is a neighborhood warden and even though he is not recognized as a representative to sit at the formal meetings, this illustration shows that another very close audience uses other rules of recognition and accepts him as legitimate representative. Since he is a neighborhood warden, hired by the Balsall Heath Forum, he is not a service provider, nor an elected councilor nor an expert, nor

an elected resident representative, he is not recognized as a representative to it around the negotiation table during the meetings.

During the interview, Mustafa made a claim: "I represent opinions and feeling of the residents to service providers" (Mustafa 2009). In this claim, he puts himself forward as a representative that reads off the opinions and feelings of the residents and transfers them to service providers. This is an internal claim because there is auto-legitimation of him to himself. Moreover, this is an explicit claim since he uses the exact words: "I represent". The claim is also particular because it explains what is represented and to whom, making it clear who the subject, object and audience are. The claim is also originally seen as single because it describes exactly the relationship between subject, object and audience.

Claim	'I represent opinions and feelings'
Claim features	Internal, explicit, particular and single
Audience	Balsall Heath Forum and Ward meeting Reject
Rules of Recognition	Wrong rules: lacks formal legitimation (election) as neighborhood warden

After hearing this claim, shadowing him around the neighborhood became very appealing to understand how he represented opinions and feelings of residents to service providers. The shadowing comprised of accompanying him to activities such as fixing private gates for residents around the neighborhood, cleaning up residents' gardens, inviting residents to meetings and visiting new arrivals from Iraq and Romania making sure they are adapting to life in Birmingham.

During the shadowing, he often transfered the interest from the resident to the elected representative or service provider and even created the interests of the residents performing various representative claims that are easily accepted. However, this is in an informal manner since he cannot sit at the participatory governance table and cannot participate in the meetings. This shows that he is not recognized as a representative by the Balsall Heath Forum but does the act of presenting and representing anyways. The service providers accept his claim that he knows what residents want and need. He approaches not only service providers but authorities and residents outside the meetings and they recognize him. However, in the formal meetings, he is to be silent, standing in the back of the room in his yellow bright vest.

A day in his life happened in the following way. The day of the neighborhood meeting, he walks around the area knocking on residents' doors inviting them to the meeting. Once every few months, Councilor Ibrahim accompanies him. Mustafa says residents tend to go to the meetings if they know the councilor will be present. Knocking on doors is a large part of Mustafa's job. Residents get to know him as he visits them. The Balsall Heath Forum sends Mustafa to walk around in his bright yellow vest. The distinguished outfit shows that the Forum accepts him to wear the uniform and be recognized visually. The opening line is:

"Hi, we would like to invite you to the neighborhood meeting tonight at 7pm at the Local Church (or the Forum). The local councilors and service providers will be present so you can voice any complaints and requests you might have."(Mustafa 2009)

Many residents do not open the door but look through the mailbox hole. Mustafa explains that in the Muslim culture, some women would not open the door to a man. For such reason, he justified the need for women neighborhood wardens. The attempt to hire a woman had been unsuccessful.

Residents usually respond they will try to come to the meetings but many do not show up. Others voice their complaints to Mustafa himself. He usually has to explain to residents what it takes to solve the problem. For example, a resident complained about the on-going problem of trash in front of his house. There is a late night *balti* house next door to his apartment complex and people throw trash on the sidewalks after they finish eating. Mustafa explained to the resident that he had already spoken to the *balti* shop owners about providing more garbage bins and educating their customers on the etiquette of binning their trash. The warden one more time promised to talk to the shop owner. Right in the end of the door-knocking afternoon, he walked to the chip shop. As he walked in, they all greeted him. Their relationship appeared to be a long informal one. They made jokes to each other in English and Urdu. The owner one more time said he would attempt to educate his customers.

In this case of the chip shop, Mustafa uses his personal connections to solve such problem. However, without judging the quality of representation, but judging the complex of making representative claims, this illustration shows that the resident and the chip shop owner use a set of rules of recognition to accept Mustafa's representative claim to one another, The chip shop owner accepts his claim about the interests of the resident.

Another example illustrates his door-knocking experiences and how he is accepted as a representative in this more informal arena. As he invites an older English lady resident to the meeting with the same opening line, she responds with a complaint about anti-social behavior. She complains that Asian youngsters are racist towards her when she is gardening in the front lawn. "They hang out doing nothing all day on the side walk and shout at me, call me names when I come out in the lawn" (Resident 2009). This experience is unacceptable for Mustafa that often laments the bad ways of some youngsters. He, within minutes, manages to diffuse the problem. Another neighborhood warden is suddenly standing next to him as they try to solve this problem. A Balsall Heath police car drove by and Mustafa stops them and tells them what is going on. All together, the resident, Mustafa, the other warden and two police officers, decide they will patrol the area better and attempt to move the young boys out of the curb.

These examples of the chip shop and the older lady show that he performed an act of representative claim-making that is now accepted. For the older lady, for instance, he spoke for her, she accepted it. He became the mediator between service-providers and the resident. If the problem was solved in the long run is not clear. However, it is clear that the resident's complaint was heard and at least included as a legitimate complaint. An immediate solution was provided: patrolling the area. In this instance, in front of her house, one set of rules of recognition applied. His representative claim was accepted in front of this specific audience. On the streets, Mustafa in his yellow vest acts as a representative for the Balsall Heath Forum and is accepted by the actors he encounters.

Another day of shadowing Mustapha showed how he creates a voice within the neighborhood. He knocked on residents' doors asking them to sign a petition to stop the extension of the cricket ground that borders the neighborhood. This extension would result in more noise and more cars during cricket season. Many residents had not heard about this extension. Mustafa convinced at least 15 people in a few hours to sign the petition by explaining the situation to residents at their door step. This is an example of presenting something to the resident that he was not aware of. This

is a case where the interest of the resident was constructed rather than read-off, as Mustafa had claimed to do.

When it is time for the meeting, in the same evening, Mustafa stands by the door and greets the residents, service providers and public authorities as they walk into the room. He might also offer them coffee and refreshments. As the meeting starts and proceeds, he along with other neighborhood wardens that knocked on doors on other streets of the neighborhood, stand in the back in their bright yellow vests.

Mustafa also makes a representative claim during the shadowing when explaining his extra care for the new migrants from the new A-10 European Union members. 'We at least have the mosque to represent us. The Polish and Romanians, do not have anything when they arrive' (Mustafa 2009). This claim is noteworthy because it raises the mosque as a representative. It is not clear if he refers to the mosque as representing Muslims or Pakistanis however, noting that the mosque does some act of representing is important. No imam or any kind of representative from the mosque is invited to be an active member of the participatory governance arena. However, in the informal arena, the mosque is seen to represent. This shows that the symbols can be included as representative claims however, the mosque representative is not invited to participate in the arena.

His bright yellow vest shows that he is a neighborhood warden and works for the Forum as he walks around the neighborhood door-knocking or standing in the back of the meetings. They accept his representative claims about residents therefore, he does some act of representing however, in the meetings, he is not recognized as a legitimate representative because different rules apply. Rules of recognition are contextual and quickly change from the formal to the informal setting.

Politics take place on the day-to-day activities, not only in the formal meetings. The Forum does not recognize him as a legitimate representative during the meetings because of the rules they have set up. Since he is not elected and he is a warden, he cannot participate fully. However, this case shows the importance of non-elected representatives in doing representation. Michael Saward (2006, 2010) has been promoting a fearless understanding of representation outside elections. Many other scholars show that politics take place outside the ballot. However, what is key to note in this case is that representatives do not become representatives as individuals. There is a complex process around and as audiences shift, rules of recognition shift. Rehfeld does not distinguish this point very well in his work, overemphasizing roles representatives take on, rather than process. Moreover, representation is a contextual performed act. As this illustration of Mustafa shows, as soon as he moves to more informal areas outside the formal meetings of the participatory governance arena, he is accepted as a Balsall Heath Forum representative.

5.3.d Saeeda, the women's organization leader

Saeeda is of Pakistani background, in her late 30s, single mother of two boys. She has been a resident in Balsall Heath for more than 30 years. She used to work in a local school and as she explained in her interview, she knows a lot of people in the neighborhood, has lots of networks, knows the language and has the skills to be involved. She started the Saheli women's organization with the goal of involving local women in activities and promote women's empowerment.

There was no place where women could go in the neighborhood, according to her. "Muslim men could go to the mosque, Black and English men can go to the pub but Muslim, English and black women don't have anywhere to go"(Saeeda 2009). This became the inspiration for funding a women's community centre in Balsall Heath. Her main interest is to involve women in activities they would not normally participate in. They started with activities such as bike riding since many wome, as Saeeda says, had never tried because their parents wouldn't allow them. "Parents don't let their girls go out" (Saeeda 2009), she explained. After a few years of such activities, they received half a million from Sport England organization that allowed them to create a local gym in the local campus of South Birmingham College.

The gym empowered women to further out to other activities. "So all of a sudden, news spread around the community and women started going to the college. They wouldn't go to the college before they started the gym but now they went to go to the gym. Then, as they got confident, they started to see that actually they could do other things at the college and so they started to become more active", explains Saeeda.

Saeeda is very interested in talking about representation. She explains the area is very diverse.

> "There are different types of Muslim, different types of Hindus, Sikhs, Indians, white British and all types. The Muslim communities can be Arab, there is Indian Muslim, there is Pakistani majority Muslim, there is Bangladeshi Muslim, we are different but equal. And then you got white British, you got white Irish British, you got working class white British, and then slightly wealthy British here, then you got Black African Caribbean, you got Black African Somalian, you got black- and so all of it is so mixed and diverse"(Saeeda 2009).

This explanation of group representation shows that for her there are groups, but they are also supplemented by her claiming that group representation is difficult to achieve.

"I thought George Bush represented that country (USA) but actually he didn't represent that country. He represents a certain elite. Osama Bin Laden is not representative of Muslims, he is a representation of himself and his own political ideology" (Saeeda 2009).

Women in the neighborhood are often portrayed as less empowered or shy housewives but Saeeda is different. 'Women in the neighborhood are ashamed of going to the meetings because there are too many men and men can often be intimidating." (Saeeda 2009) Saeeda, however is an active well-spoken citizen. She then represents women descriptively since she is an ethnic minority (Pakistani) woman and she is a resident of Balsall Heath. However, she does not necessarily represent them substantively. She was chosen due to her skills, rather than disempowerment. She was chosen on her brave divorced strong-woman role, rather than a shy housewife role.

The Chief Executive Officer Bob Atkinson made the claim that Saeeda represents women in the neighborhgood during the interview, as mentioned earlier. Bob and neighborhood manager Matt, neighborhood wardens and service providers would very much like Saeeda to join a political party and run for local councilor. However, during the interview with her, she emphasized that she doesn't want to become a politician.

'I like to make things happen and make changes but I'm not interested in her private life in people's rooms. My children would be embarrassed and think I am not like everybody else' (Saeeda 2009).

Saeeda is an active citizen and entrepreneurial. She agrees with the Chief Executive that women should be empowered. His representative claim upon her makes her a representative in the Forum, even though she does not express interest in becoming a politician. Others would like to make her representation formal, but she does not accept it. Her representativeness of women is an example of an external claim that does not have to be accepted by the representative. If the Chief Executive, the neighborhood manager and service providers in the participatory governance arena perceive her as a women representative, she is then representative.

Descriptive representation is almost symbolic here, but nonetheless is political. Her empowered voice is chosen to represent women despite that according to her and Bob, that is not mirroring women in the neighborhood.

Claim	'Saeeda represents women'
Audience	Accept (she rejects it)
Rules of recognition	Active citizen, same discourse on empowerment of women (not subdued like other women)

The case of Balsall Heath shows that rules of recognition in place are often of dubious reasoning. Some rules exist in one arena but do not exist in another arena.

5.3.e Ibrahim, the Councilor

Mohammad Ibrahim is the councilor of Sparkbrook Ward for Respect Party. He is a Pakistani Muslim of Mirpuri background, as many residents in Balsall Heath. Ibrahim is popular for listening to residents, participating in the meetings and getting things done. He walks around once a month in the neighborhood and knocks on people's doors, introducing himself and inviting them to local meetings.

According to other actors in the participatory governance arena in Balsall Heath, Ibrahim did not have the skills to be a politician but he acquired them after the elections. The councilor assistant Per explained that Ibrahim did not have the necessary skills to be a councilor but he was well-connected and well-known in the neighborhood. "He is Mirpuri, like many of the residents in Balsall Heath", added Per (2008). His descriptive characteristics (Pakistani Mirpuri man) along with his popularity with the Pakistani community were the resources used to run for elections. Moreover, his uncle had been involved in local politics so his name was well-known.

Ibrahim and other actors in the arena such as neighborhood manager Matt and Chief Executive Bob explain that past councilors did not want to participate in the Balsall Heath Forum, but he and the other present councilors in the Ward are different and are very involved in the neighborhood.

Ibrahim is an elected local councilor and participates as the councilor in the participatory governance arena in Balsall Heath. Since the constituency selected him as a councilor, through elections, he is a qualified member to participate.

According to Rehfeld's model of understanding representation, the rules to recognize Ibrahim as a representative in the participatory governance are:

S: selected by constituency
D: elected by constituency
Q: qualified member as a Ward resident and Respect Political Party

Ibrahim makes representative claims about himself and the constituency he represents. He claims to be unknowing of the residents' wishes. "I don't know what the residents want. We need to talk to them to find out", says Ibrahim.

One afternoon, during the 'shadowing', the neighborhood warden Mustafa and Ibrahim were walking around the neighborhood inviting people to meetings. Ibrahim introduced himself as the local councilor and guaranteed he would be able to fix problems if residents came to the meeting.

" If you come to the meeting, we will fix your problem", asserts Ibrahim.

"I have been waiting for someone to fix these gardens for years" complains the impatient resident as she points to the street gardens.

" Have you ever asked me? No, so wait and see." states Ibrahim.

During the meetings, he often showed his skills by taking up problem-solving challenges. "I'll come and fix your gate myself, with my own hands, if nobody fixes it by next week", Ibrahim declares to a resident after the meeting. This shows that for him, the relationship between the politician and his constituency has to be an active communicative relationship. Councilors should, according to Ibrahim, 'go out and meet the communities' (Ibrahim 2009). Representation here is a moment in which he learns about the constituents interests showing that representation is a process.

The case of this representative claim show Ibrahim is recognized as a legitimate representative since he was elected by his constituency. When participating at meetings, he is a legitimate member of the BH arena since he is the councilor and elections is the rule of recognition. Other rules apply as Per explains: Ibrahim is Pakistani, from the same region as many residents.

These encounters with residents do not happen very often. Mustafa, the warden (and other wardens) are the ones walking around talking to residents, finding out their needs and communicating them to the service providers. Here the fact that he is elected does not mean that he thinks he can do the representing of the citizens. He admits he does not know what the residents want. Election is the rule of recognition and responsiveness is also valued since he is willing to participate in this local arena, unlike the previous councilors.

The case of Ibrahim also shows that claims can create multiple objects leaving the audience with room for interpretation.

Since many in the neighborhood and the Respect Party are Muslims, they united and protested for a Boycott of Israel in 2009. A picture of the local councilors on the newspapers holding posters that

said “Boycott Israel” is the representative claim. Moreover, the drivers along with a few neighborhood wardens drove an ambulance with aid to Palestine. This gesture also got a lot of attention in the neighborhood.

Claim B	Picture
Audience	Accept
Rules of recognition	Local election

This is a representative claim the moment the audience receives it and evaluates it. This is an internal claim since she presents herself as knowing the best for Israeli relations or for future of Palestine or something else. It is up to the audience to interpret it. The Boycott Israel campaign shows how interests of constituencies can be constructed. When elected councilors support a “boycott Israel” campaign, it becomes muggy to understand if they are ‘reading off’ the constituents’ opinions or ‘reading in their opinions.’ Moreover, Councilor Ibrahim has descriptive characteristics that might elude for him speaking for men or Pakistani men. The main supporter of the Boycott Israel campaign is Respect Councilor Sadaf, a Pakistani woman who wears a veil. As she holds the sign, she wears a scarf. Many on TV and the radio claim she is representing Muslims due to her descriptive characteristics. However, she could also be speaking for her constituency. She could also be speaking for women or many other groups she could be associated.

This shows that the audience has an important role in receiving the representative claim. Images are strong and represent and they can be interpreted differently by the audiences. Saward (2006) argues that claim can be single or multiple, general or particular. This example shows how difficult it is to grasp the features of the claims without taking into consideration the audience.

Different factors influence and condition the five actors capacity to make representative claims. Storylines, formal positions, group membership, profession, gender, dress are some amongst of these factors that influence the capacity of actors to have their claims accepted.

The Chief Executive Bob helps to keep the story lines active arguing that Balsall Heath does not suffer problems of social cohesion and multiculturalism is from the past, contributing to which claims are accepted. Group claims that do not reflect this storyline and the policy change are easily discarded despite of the position of the actors: elected or non-elected. The storyline of the arena has a lot of influence in this case, more than the legitimacy of the actor as a representative. The policy in action also has an important influence, in this case, community cohesion, however, Bob allows the neighborhood to adopt this storyline but does not adopt the storyline that Balsall Heath has problems of community cohesion, as many other neighborhoods in Birmingham and as many non-actors believe.

Since claims that reflect the storyline are more easily accepted, the descriptive characteristics of representatives are only a consequence of this storyline. Therefore, the case of Balsall Heath shows that group claims about race and ethnicity were not easily accepted formally, however, actors outside the formal arena still linger in the old policy and make such claims. This case also shows that gender marginalization, as long as it is not of race or ethnicity matters. Claims about women representation are common since women in the neighborhood are perceived to be at margins.

Election is an important rule for the actors in the participatory governance arena, however, the case shows that other than politicians, elected resident representatives did not have their representative claims accepted simply because they were elected. Adopting the correct storyline is most important.

The importance of aesthetic visual representation deserves highlighting. Despite that group claims on ethnicity and race are unwelcome, informally, they take place. Bob, himself, points to his ethnically diverse staff to legitimize that the Forum has diverse representation. This aesthetic aspect of having diverse staff is important because it allows for representative claims to be made.

The case of Balsall Heath shows that representative claim-making is a process in which claims are subject to different rules of recognition that the audience creates. Rules are temporally bound. The case shows that more formal actors have larger chance of having their representative claims accepted, however, informal actors can have claims upon them and become representative even without their acceptance.

Chapter 6: A local participatory governance arena in Copenhagen

The City of Copenhagen

Copenhagen is the capital and the largest city of Denmark with a population of around 528,000. The municipality of Copenhagen is an administrative unit that covers a small part in the centre of greater Copenhagen. According to the Copenhagen Municipality, as of 2010, around 78% of Copenhagen's population is Danish, 7% are immigrants from western countries and 14.5% of a non-Western background.

The municipality of Copenhagen is governed by a municipal council that is elected every third year. A reform in 2007 gave more financial authority to the municipalities.

The City is part of the Øresund Region that includes Malmö in Sweden and the Region grows into one larger prosperous metropolitan area.

6.1 Central and Local Initiatives

The neighborhood of Valby has almost 60,000 people with around 15% from immigrant background. The neighborhood has what Danish policy-makers call "big ghettoes" with at least 1300 people living in only one of them. Valby local committee is a unique example of a participatory body that is set to promote local democracy and act as a bridge between politicians, service providers and citizens. The Local Committee's has become an exemplary local committee in the City of Copenhagen. Local councils have existed in some neighborhoods for many decades. These councils had different arrangements, designs and activities. Some of them were created by the city and others were developed from the grass roots. Valby had a local council that was initiatied through a group of individuals, business people local party associations, housing associations, cultural associations and this local council blossomed into a committee after many years.

The City of Copenhagen decided on the sixth December 2001 to create Valby Local committees on a trial basis for three years from the first January 2002 to 31 December 2005. Local Committee consists of 23 members at the time of this study. Nine local politicians from the political parties based on elections results in the Copenhagen City Council and elected local representatives from the city. The politicians are appointed by the town council, so that all party groups, are assigned a representative. A representative from Valby list which is Valby local party is awarded the ninth member seat. Furthermore, the Local Committee recruits representatives from local associations in Valby.

Local councils have been judged to have relatively low competence, since their funds are limited. The city sends agendas to both local committees and politicians but it is only local committee politicians who have voting rights within the local committee.

Local committees tend to perform the district's interests before municipal and other public authorities. Moreover, the committee activates citizens in resolving the district's problems, helping to bridge the gap between citizen and city government and provide cooperation between associations, institutions. In practice, this activation of citizens is capacity building as a way to

teach citizens how to put pressure on local council politicians when they need.

Similar to the local participatory governance arena in Balsall Heath in Birmingham as the last chapter shows, this local committee became exemplary as a local committee for the City of Copenhagen. Valby local committee succeeded more than in other neighborhoods that integrate politicians, officials and citizens in a well cooperation and a constructive division of labor (Borre & Gjelstrup 2004). These factors helped to support the promotion of similar participatory bodies.

6.2 The case of Valby as a participatory governance arena

In 2007, the Local Committee of Valby concentrated their efforts in developing and fighting problems of integration of migrants and refugees in the neighborhood. This means that the Committee took extra attention to solve integration problems. As mentioned earlier, there are deprived zones within the neighborhood since these neighborhoods have a large number of immigrants as inhabitants. Akacieparken is one of these ghettoes and 70% of residents are immigrants and 57% of them were on employment benefits, according to 2004 statistics (Denmark Statistics 2004). Akacieparken was once known as Little Somalia. Moreover, funds were more available for integration projects. Since each local committees in the city has a pool of money that can be used to support activities in culture, democracy and networks, in 2007, the funds were preferably used towards integration projects.

These participants work around five Working groups:

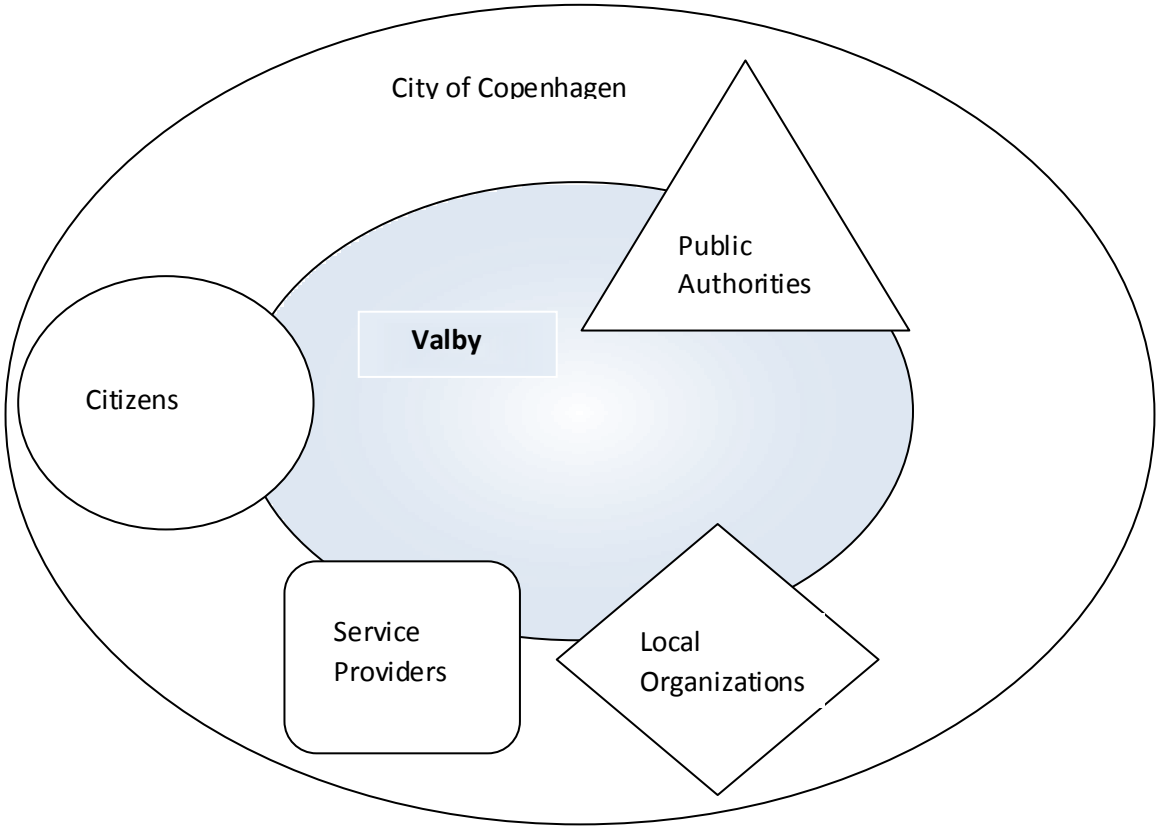
- Plan group
- Culture
- Schools, children and adolescents
- Integration and networking
- Ad Hoc Communications
- Health, disabililty and older people

The Valby Local Committee's main tasks are:

●Act as a bridge and ensure dialogue between the district's people and Borgerrepræsentationen / permanent committee in all paters that are of particular importance for the district.
● Ensure dialogue and consultation with City citizens
● To contribute to ensuring coherence and coordination in the neighborhood activities.
● Hold meetings and prepare responses in cases of particular importance for Valby district, particularly paters relating to local plans

Meetings are public and observers have access to participate in the local committee's deliberations. The City provides around one million Danish crowns to the Local Committee to develop neighborhood n projects and meetings, administrative costs, advertising and others. The low amount of money has been criticized by Valby local committees and political parties.

The participatory governance arena consists of members inside Valby



Public Authorities
Politicians (Appointed)

Service Providers
Environment
Health and Disability
Older people's board
General housing

Local Organizations
Refugee and immigrant associations Local organizations
Church and Religious Affairs
Voluntary associations for children and adolescents
Volunteer organizations
Trade associations

Citizens
Citizens at meetings
Youth representatives
Immigrant representatives

Source: own

Local Committee consists of politically appointed members and members of local associations, boards and councils in Valby.

The main stirrer of this participatory governance is the Valby Local Committee because it receives the agenda from the city, arranges the meetings and takes care of the budget.

Valby

Ensure dialogue and **consultation** with City citizens	(Valby Local Committee task, 2008)
Act as bridge between people and committee in paters important to district	(Valby Local Committee task, 2008)
Be heard (Bliv hørt)	(Valby Local Committee website, 2010)
Local committees desire a strong **local democracy**	(City of Copenhagen, 2010)

Formally, this local participatory governance arenas attempt to include citizens and local people. Similar to the case of Balsall Heath in the previous chapter, policy documents support the collaboration and cooperation between different sectors, citizens and public authorities. In Copenhagen, the City promotes dialogue, consultation and bridge-making between people and the committees. The development of democracy through consultation is key in this case. In Valby, representatives are supposed to bring something to the arena when participating and contribute. However, the process of representing is not spelled out. The policies towards local democracy in Copenhagen also aim to ensure dialogue between citizens and the city, however, the process of representing is a blur. According to Borre and Gjelstrup (2004) this arena allows for the possibility of citizen involvement, dialogue and influence. However, it has not opened for a larger number of participating citizens and the knowledge of Valby local committees are relatively small.

In terms of actors, Balsall Heath prouds itself for inviting the police to meetings and making them a partner alongside the community. Valby is more reluctant in doing the same and police is usually not invited to meetings and not seen as a partner in the community. The citizen rectangles in both pictures of the participatory arena have different characteristics. Both groups claim the problems they deal with are not political and party politics plays no role at the local level.

These two participatory governance arenas are examples of arena for representative claim-making. Since citizens and representatives of local people are invited, they make claims about themselves or others when participating. Since participants are to be heard, as the table above shows, this is a request for political inclusion. Since meetings are arranged and participants take place, the participatory governance arena can be treated as an audience for claim-making. This case illuminates the process of political inclusion through representative claim-making.

6.3 Valby

The four individuals in Copenhagen show how political inclusion takes place through representative claim-making.

Many representative claims take place in the participatory governance arena. The case of Balsall Heath in the previous chapter as the case of Valby explores representative claims that are made by people who are positioned differently in relation to the governance arenas. The case of Balsall Heath explored claims made by local councilors as an elected individuals, 'experts' and people working at organizations, working at the Forum and active citizens. In Valby, the individuals also come from different positions and some more formal than others to show how the position of claim-makers influence or not influence the performance of representative claims.

Karen, the politician, makes representative claims that are clearly paradoxical but since she is a formal actor in the arena, her claims are easily included. The community leader, Birgit, shows that the participatory governance arena can have flexible rules and allow Birgit, a 70-yr-old woman as representative of the youth in a deprived area. The case of Abdi shows that the participatory governance arena, despite having Birgit as the youth representative, uses Abdi as a youth representative who is a role model immigrant in the neighborhood. This tapping on various representative characteristics helps the legitimation of the arena. The case of Tareq, the immigrant representative shows that the audience recognizes him as an immigrant and refugee representative since the Valby Local Committee has appointed him as such, however, he clearly presents that the group of immigrants and refugees has many categories.

6.3.a Karen, the Politician

Karen is a politician and Integration expert in the Valby Local Committee. She stands as a politician for centre party Radikale Venstre (The Social Liberal party) in Valby. The Local Committee focused on solving integration problems in 2007. Karen took the initiative and along journalists decided to find through the snow-ball method the active immigrants in the neighborhoods to support and fund projects that were already in place or that could easily blossom.

Karen sits at the Valby Local Committee as a politicians because of the following rules of recognition:

Karen and rules of recognition:

S: Political party member
D: Appointed by the City
Q: Popular politician

Karen, explaining her role in the Local Committee, advocates participation of immigrants in the neighborhood with the premise that they tend to be excluded from events or do not want to participate.

> "The goal is for us is to get in contact with all these groups so they don't live in parallel communities, so we don't live in parallel communities with the different cultures but get in contact and live together. It's a big problem in the schools here. The parents, bilingual parents are very isolated, the women are very isolated, they don't

participate in meetings and activities in school because they don't feel welcome" (Karen 2007).

Karen (2007) argues she takes the initiative and the interest in the immigrant women as she reports her encounters with immigrant women in meetings:

"The women do not want to come to the meetings at the school. When they come, they sit together and speak Arabic so I sit in the middle of them and tell them: Now you cannot speak Arabic anymore" (Karen 2007).

The Local Committee of Valby focused on finding active immigrants and supporting them. This made it legitimate to opt for not only substantive representation but also descriptive representation.

She also adds a representative claim: "The Turkish women organization is the only organization that represents grown-ups in the ghetto" (Karen 2009).

Claim	'Turkish women's organization is the only one who kinda represents the grown-ups in the ghettoes'.
Claim features	External, Multiple, Particular, Explicit
Audience	Karen and the journalists
Rules of Recognition	Turkish women are immigrants

This claim is external since Karen makes puts the Turkish women's organizations as representatives of grown-ups in the ghetto. It is particular and multiple because it spells out who represents whom and at the same time leaves much room for interpretation of who the' grown-ups' are in the guetto. The representative claim is also explicitly linking the former as representative of the latter.

Karen expressed the fact that the religion and faith representative in the Valby Local Committee was a man from the Vietnamese Buddhist temple despite that the largest religions in the area are Christianity and Islam. "The imam does not show up and does not take interest in participating." (Karen 2007). Three other interviewees made a comment about this showing their perplexity with the case saying there are very few Buddhists in the neighborhood.

During the interview, Karen (2009) argues: "We wanted youth representation and we found Abdi". This Somali youngster who lives in Akacieparken becomes the youth representative. A fuller description of this youth representative Abdi follows later in this chapter. The Turkish women's organization is recognized as a local association that participates in the arena and Abdi, is also recognized as a representative but does not sit at the arena at the time of this study. [5]

These statements show that descriptive representation is important for them. There is an underlying assumption that an immigrant should speak for an immigrant and a youngster should speak for a youngster. However, the Turkish women's organization can represent the grown-ups because the organization knows the interests of the grown-ups or speaks for them because their voices are unheard. If the organization represents the social perspectives of the grown-ups in the ghetto, it

[5] In 2010, Abdi becomes a formal youth representative sitting at the negotiation table in the Valby Local Committee

resembles what Iris Marion Young (2000) suggested with enhancing of democracy through representation of social perspectives. However, the grown-ups in the ghetto encompass many groups, according to Karen and other interviewees such as the secretary, the community leader Birgit and immigrant representative Ahmad, the description of the last two follow later in this chapter.

> "There are big ethnic groups in this big ghetto and the biggest of them are the Somalis and I think they are the most isolated of them, it's like they are in the lowest in the framework and on the top it is the people form ex-Yugoslavia and then it is the Kurdish and Turkish people and then Iranians and Iraqis people and so on" (Karen 2009).

The importance of descriptive representation for Karen comes up very often.

"We, white middle-aged women, do not understand the language, the culture...we don't understand why they (immigrants) get angry", asserts Karen.

For her, immigrants understand immigrants. White middle-aged women do not understand immigrants. Therefore, she along with others find active immigrants to represent immigrants. Representation should be descriptive.

Despite the various differences between groups, Karen does not problematize the claim that a Turkish women's organization represents so many ethnic groups at the same time. It seems as if representation does not need to be descriptive, but as she mentioned, they needed youth representation and found Abdi. This representation is descriptive in terms of age such as grown-ups and youth, but not for the different ethnic groups.

Karen argues that some immigrant women thought it was too 'stuck up' to participate in decision-making processes. She mentioned that some women said: 'Who am I to go and speak for other women?' Representation was something seen as impolite and unpleasant to do. Finding and supporting the active immigrants is therefore easier to achieve than involving some immigrants that felt ashamed to participate.

The rules of recognition in place allow for a member of a certain group to speak for a certain group. To be part of the same group, the individuals should share some descriptive characteristics that in this case, are to be part of the 'immigrant category' and the correct 'age category'. Turkish women's organization is accepted as representative of grown-ups in the ghetto and Abdi has a claim placed on him to represent the youth. Since Karen is a politician and claims to take interest in spending time, getting to know immigrant women, her claims are easily accepted. The Turkish women organization is consulted and Abdi, with a push from the community leader Birgit, whose case will be described in this chapter, takes on the role of youth representative.

This shows that the actors in the participatory governance arena accept make representative claims that are almost clearly paradoxical. Integration policy in Copenhagen groups immigrants in this category: 'immigrant.' However, inside the category of immigrant, as Karen (2007), the secretary of the Local Committee (2007), the immigrant representative Ahmad (2008) concur in the interviews, many sub-groups encompass this category. These sub-groups comprise different ethnic groups and nationalities. However, when representatives are needed, as Karen describes, these sub-groups are overlooked and they all fit into the category of 'immigrant'. This is not to say that a Somali can better represent Somalis, this only shows that there is a clear paradox in this local participatory

governance arena. All the sub-group differences actors point becomes obsolete when looking for a representative.

6.3.b Birgit, the community leader

Birgit is a Danish pensionist in her 70's, resident in the deprived area of Akacieparken in Valby. Her voluntary job entails representing Akacieparken and the youth in Akacieparken in the Valby Local Committee. Moreover, inside this 'ghetto', she attempts to develop the area, organizing activities and creating projects for the youth. Despite that Karen menitoned Abdi is the youth representative, Birgit is the one who is the formal youth representative in the Valby Local Committee.

After her husband passed away a few years ago, Birgit moved to Akacieparken and decided to spend her free time in helping the youngsters in the area. "I wanted to dedicate hours to understand them. I treat them like my children." states Birgit (2007). She loves the kids in the neighborhood. Since she is a pensionist, she says she has a lot of time in her hands and decided to use it productively.

She is very charismatic, has a large network and has specific skills that the neighborhood usufructs. Birgit knows how to find extra funds, not only from Denmark but from the EU to create projects for the Akacieparken youth besides the Valby Local Committee funds. An EU grant has allowed her to organize youth activities such as skiing trips to Sweden. Birgit laments that many girls could not join because their parents do not allow them to travel. She also showed other impediments she had not accounted for in the planning of such trip. Birgit argues this process of learning about the youth as a way to legitimize her understanding of youth problems and her proximity to the youth.

Birgitand rules of recognition

S: selected by Valby Local Committee
D: showed interest, active, close contact with immigrant youth
Q: lives in Akacieparken

Birgit is recognized as a legitimate representative of the deprived area and the youth because the rules of recognition allow for such case. The Local Committee selected her since she was an active member of the community, lives in the area and demonstrates close contact with the immigrant youth.

During the interview, when asked about her role in the Valby Local Committee, she made this representative claim: 'I represent the youth of Akacieparken in the Valby Local Committee'.

This representative claim is internal because she claims to be the subject of representation. It is also particular and explicit due to its clear statement. Moreover, it is multiple because it does not specify how she represents them, leaving a lot of room for tapping on different understandings. It is not clear if she represents their opinions, feelings, interests, anxieties or even descriptive characteristics. Moreover, the concept of youth is problematic. What ages encompass the youth? Why does the

youth need representation if they are not allowed to vote? Moreover, more than 70% of residents are immigrants. Does she represent immigrant youth, Danish youth or all youth?

Birgit has stories about her proximity to the youngsters in the area.

> "A few days before the trip, many youngsters wanted to cancel. I asked them why. They said they did not have warm clothes, shoes and jackets to go to Sweden. I didn't know how poor these youngsters really were. Sometimes they knock on my door just to come watch TV with me. I got to know these youngsters very well", asserts Birgit (2007).

Abdi, the youth representative in Akacieparken who Karen mentioned is very close to Birgit. She talked about him a lot during the interview and recommended interviewing him. Talking to Abdi became a hard task to achieve. He is hard to contact and did not show up to three interviews arranged with him. Birgit supports Abdi and proudly affirmed that Abdi had become a role model for integration in the city of Copenhagen.[6]

The legitimacy as a youth representative arises from Birgit's dedication to the area. Moreover, she has the skills to find funds, participate and communicate interests to service providers and other actors in Valby. Her charisma as a Danish pensionist in her 70's dedicated to the youth of a deprived area also equips her as a legitimate representative. In this case, descriptive representation was not necessary because she uses her proximity to the youngsters and mainly points to Abdi as descriptive representation as this chapter later shows.

One of the rules of recognition that allow her to be representative is her closeness to Abdi, that descriptively represents the youth. She points to him when needed and she supports him. These rules moreover, allow her to represent Akacieparken on since she is a resident, has proximity to youth, dedication, charisma and personal connections.

Claim	I represent the youth in Akacieparken in Valby.
Claim features	Internal, Multiple, Particular, Explicit
Audience	Accept
Rules of recognition	Proximity to youth, resident, charismatic, personal connections

This case shows that the audience accepts the representative as legitimate and descriptive representation is assigned elsewhere. For the first individual Karen, the politician, it seemed as descriptive representative was very important in order to be accepted as a representative. However, in the case of Birgit as a representative, she does not descriptively match the youth constituency since she is a 70-year-old Danish woman, however, she is the community leader and recognized as such. Since her duty is to represent youth, she is often accompanied by Abdi, the youngster that also descriptively is more similar to the description of youth.

[6] At the finalization period of this thesis, Abdi has won the Integration Prize for the City of Copenhagen in 2010.

6.3.c Abdi, the immigrant role model

Abdi is a Somali youngster in the neighborhood that has won the title of 'Role Model' for Integration in the City of Copenhagen in 2007. He lives in the deprived neighborhood of Akacieparken in Valby. Birgit, the 70-something-year-old Danish woman, the Youth and Akacieparken representative in the Valby Local Committee, is very close to him and supports his participation in the meetings, brags about her close relationship with him and his role model status-

He is hard to reach and did not show up to the 3 interviews that were arranged with him.

During the shadowing of Birgit, she attended local meetings in Akacieparken. These local meetings were part of a series of meetings aimed at involving the Youth in the area in attempt to solve local problems. Abdi was a very important participant in the meeting. He usually arrived late to the meeting, came in and sat a little far from the table. He did not volunteer much information, but usually was asked to answer questions on behalf of others. An example of the complexity of the act of representing is in this dialogue:

-Can we involve Somali women in the neighborhood patrolling[7]? Abdi, how can Somali women participate? asks Birgit(2008).

- Somali women want a place to spend time together... claim Abdi (2008).

Even though this representative claim is not clearly a representative claim as in 'X represent Y' but it is a representative because Birgit asks Abdi about Somali women interests and he accepts this request and answers for them. The claim in other words can be: Birgit sets Abdi (the subject) as knowing the interests of Somali women (object). This claim: 'he knows the interests of Somali women' is of external quality since the one who makes the claim is not the same as the subject of representation. It is a very implicit claim because it goes unnoticed that he is being asked to represent women. The claim is also singular and particular because the relationship between the subject and object is clear.

Actors in the meeting (Birgit, pedagogues, consultants and others) ask Abdi about Somali interests. Even though Karen, as this chapter shows earlier, claims Abdi is a youth representative, actors in the meeting believe he knows the interest of Somali women, and often ask him to answer on behalf of Somali women since there were no Somali women present at the meeting. Abdi answers their questions and gives information about Somali women. Besides speaking for the youth, he is also asked to speak on behalf of 'Somalis' at times.

Representative claims are constitutive and Abdi is a subject of such constitutive aspect. Michael Saward (2006) argues the constitutive aspect of representative claims. As Abdi speaks for Somali women, he paints the picture of 'Somali women wanting a place to spend time together'. This representation is accepted during the meeting without any challenge or contest. This example specifically highlights how external representative claims can be taken on without contestation. Abdi is a Somali young man that in this case, represents women's interests. He also speaks for the youth when asked. However, this shows that representation is context specific. Since Abdi looks

[7] Natteravner is an initiative in the City of Copenhagen in which residents walk around the neighborhood at night as a way to ensure safety in the area.

Somali and people in the meeting know that, he is accepted as representative of Somali interests (women's, men's or youngster's interests).

Abdi is a role model for immigrants in the City of Copenhagen and his opinions count due to this status. Being a role model scrapes away any hope for him to represent the social perspectives of immigrants. It is exactly his difference and his 'role model' status that allows to speak for others. His voice is favored even though he was quiet most of the meetings and answered only when asked. It is not very clear what makes someone become a role model. Some role models are active citizens that started football clubs and others teachers with creative ideas.

This audience, that is connected to the Valby Local Committee through Birgit, illuminates the complexity of group categories in action. The audience taps on different characteristics to create representation. Descriptive characteristics serve as a resource that can be used to legitimize the representational capacity of the arena. Despite that there were no more than 15 participants in the meeting, the fact that there were no Somali women did not prevent the actors to settle for no representation of Somali women's interests.

This is a clear example of political inclusion through representative claims without the relation between the representative and the constituency. Within the participatory governance arena, Somali women were made into a political subject that is subject to political inclusion. Their interests were included, even thought they were not present and were spoken by Abdi. Some norms go out the window again in favor of inclusion. His descriptive characteristic of Somali allowed him to speak for Somali women. Being Somali overruled being young and not knowing the interest of women.

The political inclusion moment here is: Abdi → he accepted it by speaking for Somali women→ Somali women's interests were taken into account.

Claim	He speaks for Somali women
Claim features	External, implicit, singular and particular
Audience	Accept
Rules of Recognition	Group, role model. formal youth representative

6.3.d Tareq, the immigrant and refugee representative

Tareq is a middle-aged Pakistani man who lives in a deprived area of Sjælør Blvd in Valby.He is the "immigrant and refugee representative' at the Valby Local Committee. He applied for the position and after an interview process, got the position as representative. "I got the job because I live in the deprived area of Sjællør Boulevard. I see how immigrants live…They don't understand the Danish system." argues Tareq (2008) in the interview.

Tareq and rules of recognition

S: selected by Valby Local Committee D: hired Q:lives in the area, immigrant

Tareq is an immigrant and refugee representative in the area because of the rules of recognition that render him legitimate such as being hired by the Valby Local Committee and for being an immigrant himself, living in a deprived area of Valby.

According to him, he can represent all immigrant and refugees in the area because he lives in a deprived area that has a large concentration of such groups. Moreover, claiming to know how immigrants live and what they know gives him more credibility as an immigrant representative. Another important point is that he is Pakistani allowing for descriptive representation of ethnic minorities despite that there are many groups of ethnic minorities e.g. Turks, ex-Yoguslavs, Somalians and Arabs, a paradox mentioned before in this chapter.

Tareq participates at the Valby Local Committee meetings. He is usually quiet during the meetings and does not raise many comments. But he attests that he represents immigrants and refugees in the Valby Local Committee

This claim is internal because he offers himself as the representative of immigrants and refugees in the Valby Local Committee. It is also explicit and particular however, this claim is multiple because he represents a heterogenous group of people. Immigrants and refugees come from various countries and the idea of an immigrant and refugee group is problematic.

"The Turks are the most integrated, then come the ex-Yugoslavs, Pakistanis, Arabs and Somalis come last. Somalis are uneducated and uncivilized" says Tareq.

This list of most-integrated to least-integrated was also mentioned by Karen, the politician. Tareq does not mention any troubles in the task of representing immigrants and refugees. Despite mentioning how the group consists of smaller other groups that, according to Karen and him, behave differently. Tareq also talked about the irony of having a Vietnamese Buddhist representative for religion and faith in the Valby Local Committee. His representativeness comes from the rule of recognition that supports immigrants that have similar discourse as the Committee.

Tareq is a fruitful example to understand how an individual can become representative for adopting the mainstream narrative of other actors in the participatory governance arena. For Dryzek (2008), strong democracies should include various discursive representations. This is not the case in the Valby Local Committee in which the same narratives were told and retold. Tareq occupies a role and serves the function of immigrant and refugee representative. These groups are to be represented since they tend to be descriptively under-represented in participatory governance arenas. Since he descriptively represents immigrants (at least some), his presence legitimizes the arena, despite that he is rarely speaking during the meetings.

Claim	I represent immigrants and refugees in the Valby Local Committee.
Claim features	Internal, explicit, multiple and particular
Audience	Accept
Rules of Recognition	Formal, Immigrant representative, Lives in the area, Same narrative

This chapter shows how political inclusion happens through representative claim in the case of the Valby Local Committee as a local participatory governance arena in Copenhagen, Denmark. With the goal to involve local people as an enhancement local democracy and also solve local problems, this participatory governance involves appointed politicians, local associations, service providers and citizens. The data from interviews, observations and shadowing show that these participants should not only be present but should be heard and have influence hence, reach political inclusion. Participant individuals and representative claims show how the process of political inclusion happens on a claim-to-claim basis.

The individuals have perceived roles to fulfill in the participatory governance such as the politician, the youth representatives and the immigrant representative however, in action, the process is complex and dynamic. The politician Karen claims Somali youngster Abdi is the youth representative when the formal youth representative participating in the Valby Local Committee is 70-something-year-old Birgit. Then, Birgit, outside the formal arena points to Abdi, not only for support on her legitimacy as a youth representative, but also allowing him to make claims about Somali women during the meetings in the deprived Akacieparken. The Somali youngster that is claimed to be a youth representative makes claims about Somali women that are accepted since the rules of recognition allow that a Somali youngster boy speak for Somali women. Political inclusion happens through representative claims that are constitutive such as the case of Somali women interests. In the absence of Somali women in the meeting, the one who shared descriptive characteristics and potentially social perspectives (perspectives from being Somali) took on the role of their representative this representative claim constituted them as a subject for political inclusion. Furthermore, the formal immigrant and refugee representative Tareq in the local participatory governance arena rarely speaks during the meetings and is easily accepted as representing such a diverse group, that encompass various sub-groups (Pakistanis, Kurdish and even Somali women and Somali youth) since the Valby Local Committee hired him to fulfill this role. However, as the interview with Karen shows, she claims the Turkish women's organization is the only representation for grown-ups in the ghettos, gently discarding that others fulfill the roles of their representatives such as Tareq as the immigrant and refugee representative or even herself or elected politicians at the city level. Furthermore, a Vietnamese Buddhist man is the formal representative religion and faith in the arena, a fact that other actors mocked during the interviews, expressing that since there are very few Buddhists in the neighborhood, a church or mosque representatives could make more sense.

The storyline of the participatory governance arena impact the possible acceptance of representative claims. Different understandings of group and sub-groups affect the possibilities for political inclusion. In the case of Valby, immigrant youth and immigrant 'grown-ups' are some of the many separate political subjects to be included, however, the mechanisms to allow for the political inclusion vary from hiring an immigrant and refugee representative or just allowing for someone to speak for these groups.

In Valby, these groups that deserve representation are groups that suffer marginalization, according to the storyline. Interviews showed that immigrant women did not participate much, therefore, immigrant women deserve representation. For example, when not present, Somali women's interests are accepted to be spoken by someone else, in this case, the Somali youngster Abdi takes this role.

The rules of recognition from the model are only good to accept an individual as representative but other rules of recognition apply on a claim-by-claim basis. Moreover, understanding representation

as roles blinds us to this complex process where individuals easily take on new roles for sake of inclusion.

Chapter 7: Findings and discussions

This chapter compares and discusses both cases from Balsall Heath and Valby participatory governance arenas in Birmingham and Copenhagen with the goal to understand the role of representative claims in producing political inclusion in participatory governance. Using Michael Saward's concept of representative claim-making to show the performative constitutive aspect of representation along with Andrew Rehfeld's theory of representation that focuses on rules of recognition audiences use to render representation legitimate, this chapter answers the five research sub-questions from Chapter 2 that ask 1) what types of representative claims are made, 2) what subjects and objects do they construct, 3) who plays the audience, 4) which rules of recognition are in place and 5) what these representative claims and rules of recognition mean for political inclusion. The comparison of both cases illuminates the complexity and contextuality of representative claim-making.

Reemphasizing that the methodological choices have highly impacted these findings is fruitful. In Balsall Heath and Valby, interviews, observations and shadowing provided the rich datathat focused on understanding the process of representative claim-making. After interviews, observations and days of shadowing, representative claims of four individuals that are participants in the governance arena and make representative claims or have representative claims made upon them produce knowledge about this process. Observing representative claims in action is ideal to understand its productive and performative aspects. It is through representative claim-making that democratic moments are manifested and the process of inclusion takes place.

Findings show that participatory governance arenas are loci for the construction of what, who and how of inclusion. Such arenas are created or blossom to perform a certain function. The function defines what and who should be included and how such inclusion should take place. Article II explains that inclusion happens through a construction process. The cases of Birmingham and Copenhagen show that actors in participatory governance arenas contribute to this process of construction and the function they set out to achieve is precisely what underlines the process of inclusion. Moreover, actors create rules of recognition to delineate the limits of inclusion.

In Balsall Heath and Valby, many of the representatives in the participatory governance arena are active citizens. While in the former, many are elected resident representatives or elected local councilors, in the latter, being active, adopting the arena's storyline and showing interest and dedication allow for an easier way to becoming a formal representative to participate in the arena. However, in both cases, the narrative of the goals of the participatory governance arena influences the bits and pieces of representative claim-making. In Balsall Heath in Birmingham, the participatory governance arenas attempt to solve problems through inclusion through representative claims. Findings show that in Balsall Heath, representation is active construction of a voice by active citizens.

In Valby in Copenhagen, it is not clear representatives should create a voice, rather there was more emphasis in getting the right voice from the right person. The goal in the Danish neighborhood is to find 'that one person' that has the physical and role model characteristics and is close enough to the representative arena.

The Balsall Heath Forum takes pride in its reputation of successful urban regeneration and community cohesion. Despite that the City of Birmingham has placed community cohesion as high

on the agenda in the past decade, Balsall Heath does not express social cohesion or community cohesion as a problem. The community cohesion initiatives is a post-multicultural policy that promotes local cohesion between residents, emphasizing their commonalities, rather than group differences- what multiculturalism is often blamed for. Saeeda also expressed that Balsall Heath did not have problems of community cohesion. The Chief Executive Officer Bob Atkinson also explains: "we don't have as many problems with social cohesion in this neighborhood." Moreover, Bob describes Balsall Heath as a mini-Birmingham in its demographic composition. However, he admitted that others did not agree with such comment.

Previous examples of meetings showed that claims that did not take into consideration such stance on community cohesion were not valid claims. Multiculturalism is from the past and community cohesion is in. By saying goodbye to multiculturalism, we saw that some representative claims that did not pay attention to the change of policy were invalid. As the example of resident representative Ali showed, asking for descriptive group representation was not accepted by the Chair because multiculturalism is an old policy not in place anymore.

The Valby Local Committee also takes pride in its reputation of successful involvement of citizens at this local level. The Committee follows the policy agenda of the City of Copenhagen and focuses on integration of immigrants and refugees as an important problem in the neighborhood. Policy towards immigrants and refugees impact the storyline of the Local Committee and group claims that follow this policy are easily accepted. The policy at higher levels than local sets Danes as one category and 'immigrants and refugees' as others. Many sub-groups make up these groups. Policy-makers and local citizens are aware of these sub-groups and constantly mention them (and even rank them) showing that they suffer from a paradox since when picking formal representatives, they do not take into consideration these sub-groups. The narrative of the Local Committee resembles the one at the City level.

This dissertation asks five sub-questions in the investigation of representaitve claim-making and political inclusion in participatory governance. Comparing and discussing the cases of Balsall Heath and Valby, this chapter answers these questions.

1) Which kind of representative claims are made?

Representative claims can be internal, external, singular, multiple, general, particular, implicit and explicit according to Michael Saward (2006). [8] These categories are very hard to grasp in the empirical material. Saward (2006) argues that internal claims refer to claims in which the claim-maker sets herself as the subject and in external claims, the claim-maker is different. If a claim is multiple rather than singular, it evokes various objects rather than a single object. [9] If the claim is particular instead of general, it evokes to more than the constitutive character of the system. Implicit claims are not as spelled out as explicit claims. However, the case studies show that it is easy to meet internal, external, multiple, general and explicit claims but very hard to grasp representative claims that are singular claims and particular, exposing the insufficiencies of the claim features that Saward proposes.

[8] See Chapter 2 for a more detailed explanation of representative claims.

[9] Saward argues representative claims that are multiple can evoke multiple audiences. However, in this thesis uses the 'audience' from Andrew Rehfeld (2006) which refers to the participatory governance arena actors that render the claim legitimate, rather than the object the claim constructs as Saward (2006) suggests. Therefore, the term 'objects' is used. See Chapter 2 for a more detailed explanation of the difference of audience.

The cases of Balsall Heath and Valby in the two previous chapters demonstrate that external, multiple and explicit claims were abundant in both cases. In Valby, for example, the Politician Karen makes the representative claim: 'The Turkish women's organization represents the grown-ups in the ghetto'(Karen 2007), This claim is external since she sets the organization as the subject of representation and it is explicit because she uses the word 'represents'. However, if it is a singular or multiple claim is a tricky question. 'Grown-ups' can be seen as one group or many sub-groups inside. In this claim, grown-ups are one group, but in the same interview later, Karen breaks residents into groups and makes claims about women, men, Somali women and so on. Many of these representative claims such as 'he represents the youth', 'the mosque represents us', 'the organization represents grown-ups' show that many claims are external and evoke to represent objects that can be multiple. The crucial point is that it is easy to identify if a claim is internal or external but it is up to the audience to decide if the claim is singular or multiple.

Michael Saward (2006) proposes representative claims have different characteristics that can be found through analysis of the claim. However, this requires an audience analysis and not a claim analysis. He suggests analyzing claims, but understanding if they are multiple or singular, particular or general requires an audience analysis, not a claim analysis. Identifying internal and external claims is simpler but the multiplicity of a claim is only up to the audience to decide. For example, if the participatory governance takes 'grown-ups' to be one group, then the claim is singular.

Finding out the types of claims that are made in a participatory governance arena is the first step to analyze the process of political inclusion however; the characteristics that Michael Saward (2006) provides in his concept of representative claim require an observation of the audience when it receives this claim and how it judges its characteristics. Internal, external, implicit and explicit are identifiable by the claim itself, however, if the claim is singular, multiple, particular or general is difficult without supplementing the analysis of the representative claim with the analysis of the audience in which the claim is made.

2) What subjects and objects does it construct?

To understand the process of political inclusion through representative claim-making, understanding what the representative claims construct is an important part of the analysis. Various representative claims from the cases of Balsall Heath and Valby provide show that many subjects and objects were constructed in both cases. Since the goal is to understand political inclusion, the representative claims from the cases were claims that attempted to create a political subject for inclusion. Therefore, the claims construct political subjects that have interests, opinions, perspectives that should be heard or taken into account. Many of the claims in both cases were representative claims in which the subjects were individuals that represent, stand for, act for specific groups, the objects.

The formal representatives in both Balsall Heath and Valby gained access but it does not mean that since they are formal representatives they are the only individuals who make representative claims. Subjects can be the same as claim-makers such as 'I represent' or subjects can be others such as 'he represents' or 'she knows the interests'.

The study of these two representative arenas show that group representation is still a common way to organize representative arenas allowing for groups to be constructed, reconstructed or just evoked through representative claims. The constitution and delineations of a group vary according to

contexts. While in Valby, immigrants and refugees from an group (object) that can be represented by one individual: the immigrant and refugee representative (subject). The same group does not exist across the North Sea. There is no 'immigrant and refugee' group represented by one individual in Balsall Heath.

Findings show the strong push for descriptive representation in Valby and a more subtle behind-the-scenes push in Balsall Heath. In Valby, for example, Birgit is the formal youth representative even though she is in her 70s. She lives in the deprived area of Akacieparken and has a close relationship to the youth. However, for Karen, the politician, the youth representative is Abdi because he is young. These characteristics could also be seen in a different way. Abdi could be representing the youth because they share social perspective. Iris Marion Young argues in her book Inclusion and Democracy that a diverse representative arena should represent various social perspectives, instead of descriptive demographically representing society (Young 2000). Representing social perspectives however, does not appear to be the case of Abdi since he is a 'role model' immigrant for the City of Copenhagen. Role models represent a social perspective that is not necessarily the perspective that many share. There was not a drive towards representation from different social perspectives in Valby. Abdi, for example, is a role model for the City of Copenhagen. He is a role model because he is worthy of imitation. Role models are represented to have a voice. Moreover, Karen argues that the Turkish women's organization is the only organization that represents grown-ups in the ghetto. This comment shows that representation in Valby was in form of organization or role models. Therefore findings show that in Valby, descriptive characteristics are important. Subjects often share physical characteristics with the object. Moreover, subjects that have role models qualities (worthy of imitation) and belong to a member of the marginalized group are worthy of having their voices heard. This shows that Valby favors the 'it takes one to know one' perspective descriptively and in a social perspective, however, the subject does not need to do both.

In Balsall Heath, certain voices were also more empowered than others as the example of Saeeda shows. Saeeda is pushed as a women representative because she agrees with the Forum Chief and other actors. Even though she did not win a 'role model' prize like Abdi, she is highly praised for her being active, empowered and different from other Pakistani women in the neighborhood. This shows that role models are often subjects in both cities.

The push for the subject sharing descriptive characteristics with the object was hidden in Balsall Heath because the narrative is that the policy of community cohesion is a success. Observations show that the management in the Balsall Heath Forum is white but most of the staff is from visible ethnic minority backgrounds. Even though Bob explains that community cohesion is not a problem, his staff choice represents the neighborhood demographically. Bob mentions: "we have many Yemenis in the neighborhood and we have Noora...she is Yemeni" as he points to the Yemeni secretary (Bob, chief executive 2009). Despite claiming that there are no ethnic minority divisions as such, informally, he points to Yemeni Noora as a way to show the Forum has descriptive representation. This shows that despite that multiculturalism is not in practice anymore, the practices persist.

In the case of Balsall Heath, pushing for women representation was acceptable, however, there is no push for Youth representation. The youth is often seen as the root of many problems of anti-social behavior. "The youth is a problem everywhere", argues Chair Aziz during a meeting when confronted about the lack of solutions for anti-social behavior in the neighborhood. However, when asked about youth representation, Raja, Mustafa and Bob (in separate interviews) were surprised because they had not arranged the representative structures to fit 'youth representation'. Resident

representatives are representatives because they had been elected into it. Saeeda is a representative because they point to her as representative. However, the youth was not a group that needed representation. The rule of descriptive characteristics show that it has to be descriptive characteristics need to be recognized as necessary.

In both cases, role models individuals have a voice, even if they didn't make the claim themselves. The stood for groups that were often considered as marginalized and needed to be politically included. As Article I shows, marginalized interests are constructed and these cases show exactly how this takes place. When Birgit asks Abdi about Somali women interests, he answers to her. In her view, Somali women are marginalized and should be represented so she is able to start their inclusion process. In this case, Abdi represents Somali women and speaks for them. In Balsall Heath, the only group that was considered deprived as 'women', needing representation.

Both particiaptory governance arenas attempt to make representative claims as a way to include deprived or marginalized groups. In Valby, at times, claims about Somali women create them as political subjects to be included. At times, the political subject is the youth or immigrant grown-ups or residents in the ghettos. In Balsall Heath, despite the narrative that multiculturalism is out the window, informally the actors of the arena make representative claims that place ethnic and minority groups as subjects.

3) Who plays the audience?

The audience refers to the formal actors in participatory governance arenas that can render the representative claims to be included, but empirically delineating them is often a hard job due to the nature of representative claim-making. The formal actors are identified through documents and interviews, however, the representatives at the negotiating table during the meeting illuminate the differences between both cases and questioning the simplified understandings of the audience delineation that Rehfeld (2006) suggests.

In Birmingham, resident representatives and residents are at the margins of the audience while in Valby, the citizens and group representatives are part of the audience. Observations show that Balsall Heath elected resident representatives during the meetings sit in the room, not at the table along the service providers and local councilors. In Valby, appointed immigrant and refugee representatives along with the youth representative sit at the negotiating table.

The local associations and non-governmental organizations and associations do not sit at the negotiating table in Balsall Heath but do have their seat in Valby. In Balsall Heath, however, despite that they are not sitting at the negotiation table, they are invited to sit in the along the residents and visitors in the room. As the case of Saeeda the woman' organization representative shows, sitting outside does not imply easy inclusion or exclusion since representative claims can be made by others rather than the representative.

An important finding is that inclusion has its visual aspect that is often underestimated in studies of participatory arenas. The use of observations as a method overestimates the importance of quantity of participants and quality of deliberations. However, observations tend to use the citizen as the unit of analysis. One citizen does not speak for him or herself but one citizen can speak for many others and make group claims. Moreover, others can make claims without acceptance. Inclusion has to be

understood through process of claim-making in which representative claims are the unit of analysis. The delineations of the audience are fluid.

4) What rules of recognition regulate the acceptance and rejection of claims?

The rules of recognition are temporally flexible however, they can leave remainders. Descriptive representation is not accepted if formulated as a legitimate interest, however, the Forum, its Chief Executive Officer and other staff keep supporting descriptive representation. By pointing to Saeeda as a 'women's representative', chief executive officer Bob, neighborhood manager Matt and others show support for descriptive representation. Moreover, Bob and Mustafa argue in they would like women neighborhood wardens but they have not been able to find any. This push can be 'leftover' from multiculturalist thinking that supported descriptive representation in terms of ethnic groups.

Policy-makers allow for the enactment of policies at the different levels and contribute to delineating the function of representatives. As Article III shows, the rules of recognition in place impact which representative claims can be accepted, denied or negotiated.

Actors can use different resources to have their representative claim accepted however, rule rigidity can harden this process. The observations of the Balsall Heath meetings show that such formal settings gave little room for rule-bending. The rules of recognition were more easily identified during the meetings. However, interviews and the shadowing of the neighborhood warden revealed that these rules were more flexible in informal environments. The day-by-day actions reveal to accept certain representative claims that are inacceptable in the formal meetings. The neighborhood warden Mustafa is not recognized as a legitimate representative in the formal arena but did represent in informal scenarios. If audiences change, context changes, rules of recognition change. But the informal moments are just as important to understand representative claim-making.

5) How do these rules of recognition impact political inclusion?

The rules of recognition have to accept not only the content of the representative claim, but also the claim-maker. As traditional understandings of participation, the cases show that the claim-maker turns out to be an important feature of the process of inclusion through representative claim-making.

Policy makers face paradoxes. In Valby, one of the elected participants is a representative from the church or faith groups. The representative in place is a Vietnamese Buddhist man despite that neither do Vietnamese nor Buddhists make up a large group in the neighborhood. Birgit the community leader, Karen the integration expert, Mads the Local Committee organizer all mentioned the irony of having a Vietnamese Buddhist representative in the Local Committee. During the interviews, they mocked this. They also argue that no other faith group representatives tried to participate in the Local Committee. Lamenting that no representative from the mosque attempted to participate, these actors realize the trickiness and irony of the Local Committee. A representative from the mosque was talked about because large part of the immigrant groups in the area is Muslim. Since many are Muslim in the neighborhood, actors believe it would make more sense to have him in the participatory governance arena rather than a Vietnamese Buddhist. However, actors do not take any extra steps to invite the Imam or any Mosque representative because the rules are that faith

group representatives have to show up on their own will if they want to take part in the participatory arena.

This paradox shows that rules of recognition can tie policy-makers. Policy-makers create rules and are constrained by them. The case of rules within participatory governance shows that these rules constrain policy-makers in the same manner.

The position of the claim-makers influences the acceptance of the claim but surprisingly being elected does not necessarily gives more leverage to the claim. Politicians, elected or non-elected, and experts seem to make representative claims that the participatory governance arena accepts with more ease. In Balsall Heath, Bob argues representatives should be elected if they want to change, however, the case shows that the claims Ali makes are subject to rejection, despite his status of position of 'elected representative'. Adapting to the current policy, narrative of the arena appear to be more important than elections. Moreover, from more informal positions, claim-makers can have influence if they are role models. Formal positions can facilitate to have claims accepted make claims but more importantly adopting the policy and narrative are more important.

Andrew Rehfeld (2006) argues that audiences can make mistakes when judging the legitimacy of a representative. This means that the participatory governance arena as an audience search for representatives for a certain reason, but due to rigidity of the rules, the audience can make a mistake. For the Local Committee participants, it might make more sense to invite a Muslim representative, however, the rules they use do not allow them to do that.

Rules of recognition are contextual and impact inclusion and exclusion in the participatory governance. Observing when a representative claim is rejected during the negotiation process is a case of exclusion, however, understanding non-claims is a more difficult process. Inclusion is the mechanism of allowing acceptance of a representative claim into the arena, however, is the absence of a representative claim necessarily exclusion? As the cases show, the political subjects that deserve or gain political inclusion are constantly being constructed through representative claims. For example, the Vietnamese Buddhist representative in Valby is accepted as a representative however, prior to this, the Vietnamese Buddhist group was not necessarily a group that Valby perceived to be marginalized to deserve inclusion.

7.1 Analysis of representative claim-making and political inclusion

Findings show that inclusion into participatory governance actors takes place at the expense of multiple representative claims. Claim that are multiple in their characteristics allow for more flexibility. Saeeda represents women's organizations but can also represent women in the eyes of some individuals. By pointing to Saeeda as representative of women, Bob and Pat tap on this representation. In a similar way, Birgit in Valby taps on Abdi representing Somali women. In both cases, actors tap on representation due to the multiplicity of the claim. Claims can fabricate various objects. Therefore, representation for political inclusion can be on tap.

Representation on tap legitimizes the Forum in Birmingham as well as the Valby Local Committee. The case of Abdi speaking for Somali women shows this point. There were no Somali women present at the meeting however, interests of Somali women did not go as inexistent. They asked

Abdi, a Somali youngster, and he spoke for them. Representation goes beyond what is expected and what is visually estimated. Aesthetic moments of representation deserve attention.

Representative claims can be deeply embedded or have shelf-life expiration dates. Since these cases show that policy-makers adapt to new policies, some representative claims can expire because of such adaptation. When resident representative Ali makes a group claim for Asian, his claim was rejected because it failed to reflect the current policy goals. This shows that not only policy-makers, but also citizens, should be apt to pick up on new policy and be aware of policy changes that could affect the legitimacy of their claim. The temporal dimension of claim validity is important for the possibility of inclusion.

A picture can also be judged as a representative claim if actors perceive it as one and recognize it as legitimate. For example, most participants were ethnic minority men in Balsall Heath meetings. Some women, mainly English women, do attend the meetings and sit amongst the men. However, Asian women tend to sit in the back. Interviews did not show that this was problematic. In Valby, the worry of low participation of certain groups is more common. This could be because representation should come from deprived groups as a way to empower them. For example, immigrants women, refugees, immigrant youngsters tend to be called to be represented, however, Danish youth, Danish women are not part of groups that should be represented. Whereas in Balsall Heath, capacity building is built through the involvement of active citizens, in Valby, there is emphasis on having representation from marginalized groups that coincide with ethnic minority divisions in this case.

Both neighborhoods focus on supporting representation of role models but to be accepted proximity is an important source. Role models are subjects of representative claims that are easily included. This is a phenomenon in which representation of social perspectives is not necessarily the most valued, unlike Young (2000) would support. Neither the participatory governance arena follows what Dryzek (2008) calls discursive representation, referring to the multiplicity of discourse. Instead, the participatory governance prefers group representatives that are role models and are close enough to the represented group. Proximity to groups allows for individuals to speak for these groups or stand in for these groups. It is this focus on proximity that can explain how a 70-yr-old represents the youth in Valby and how Saeeda is pointed to as women's representative for her empowered voice, not her shared social perspective with other women.

Group representation is common and difficult however, most policy-makers do not show their awareness of these difficulties. The enhancement of democracy through group representation causes certain dilemmas as Article I and Article II show. Moreover, group representation shows that the group constitutes through representative claims. N the case of marginalized groups, marginalization is contextual and constructed, as the cases show. For example, in Valby, the youth is represented since they cause problems of anti-social behavior, immigrants and refugees are also represented since they have social problems. However, who fills up this margin to de-marginalize them can be somebody else outside the group, through representation on tap. The conceptions of gender, race, age and other common suspects of marginalization (or discrimination) manifest themselves through representative claims.

Representative claims create endogenously imagined symbols. Mustafa claims the mosque represents 'them'. Even though, it is not clear who 'they' are, this shows that the mosque is an inanimate symbol in this case. When Mustafa argues that new migrants from the new EU accession countries do not have anything like the mosque to represent them, he creates meaning to the symbol

of the mosque. For him, there is representation of 'his group' but not for the new migrants. By claiming the mosque represents and claiming non-representation of the other group, there is an internal process of acceptance of the mosque. This shows that informal representation is consistently happening outside democratic norms.

The cases of Balsall Heath and Valby show how policy-makers can easily adapt to new policy change. There was very little challenge in both neighborhoods towards the policies in place. In Valby, none of the interviewees mentioned any resistance towards City of Copenhagen policies. The same happened in Balsall Heath. The Chief Executive Officer Bob Atkinson mentioned that if anyone had anything against the model they could join in the elections and then, make change. Change and resistance, for him, could only come from elected representatives.

The comparison of the participatory governance arena in Balsall Heath in Birmingham and the participatory governance arena in Valby produced knowledge about the political inclusion through representative claim-making. Politically included are the claims that are up to date with the narrative of the arena and the policies at the city level that delineate the groups that are affected, marginalized or subdued. Balsall Heath had room for a new narrative at the local level, besides the city and national policies. Valby did not appear to challenge any of the narratives of the City level. Policies influence which representative claims can be included however, it is only because of policy-makers fast adaptation to new policies that this happens.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This dissertation asks how representative-claim can produce political inclusion in participatory governance. Decision-making is taking place through participatory governance processes raiding questions of the democratic potential of such form of governing. Elected or non-elected, formal or informal, stakeholders participate in the decision-making arenas as legitimate representatives of genuine interests. Stakeholders are invited because their participation is valid, necessary and, again, legitimate. These stakeholders are either affected by policies, have vested interests in the delivery of such policy and/or represent a portion of society. Representative are only legitimate when recognized as so. Through empirical comparative case studies in Birmingham and Copenhagen, this dissertation asks and answers the questions of representative claim-making and political inclusion in participatory governance.

This dissertation has eight chapters, theoretical and empirical, and three articles. The first chapter shows that debates of the quality of effectiveness, efficiency and democracy of participatory governance arenas have been overshadowed by problematic understandings of representative democracy. Scholars and practitioners debate the quality of such mode of governing through discussions between the trade-off between efficiency and democracy and the possibility of plus-sum games between effectiveness and democracy. These debates discuss possibilities for more democratic and inclusive stakeholder involvement and deliberations. However, these understandings tend to focus on a concept of participation that is too focused on representative democracy theory. Many scholars value participation and representation as an accountable transparent act within participatory governance. The process of participation within participatory governance is tricky and contextual. To participate and to represent are actions that involve complex processes that go beyond democratic norms.

The second chapter shows that before assessing the inclusionary capacity of participatory governance, understanding the process of representation is necessary. Actors in such governance arenas make representative claims about themselves or others as participating. Representing is an act of claim-making in which actors make claim about themselves or others. Within participatory governance arenas, representing goes beyond democratic norms. Understanding the process of representation requires a take on representatives that moves beyond 'roles' they take on, but instead focuses on process of representing. Actors participate making representative claims (about themselves and others) that are subject to judgment of other participatory governance actors. These actors use their own rules of recognition to accept the representative claim. If the claim is not accepted by the actors, the claim is excluded. This process shows that to understand inclusion and exclusion in participatory governance, one needs to understand the process of claim-making that actors engage in.

The third chapter presents the methodology and analytical framework for the research. A qualitative study is necessary to grasp inclusion through representative claim-making in participatory governance since it can show how context and meaning is produced. Empiricists have worried about finding the right solutions for ideal representation however, it is important to understand the construction process of what is included through representative claim-making. Participatory governance arenas are loci for the production of meaning. Observing the process of representative claims in action can show how rules of recognition play a role in representative claim-making. Two local participatory governance arenas in two neighborhoods in Birmingham and Copenhagen are the

choice of case studies. This choice of empirical work accompanies in-depth study of both neighborhoods with interviews, observations and 'shadowing' of actors. These methods concentrate on the micro-level processes that actors engage on since studies of representation underplay the micro-level.

The fourth and fifth chapters introduce the participatory governance arenas. In both Balsall Heath in Birmingham and Valby in Copenhagen, the participatory governances blossomed as a problem-solving project in the neighborhoods. While the participatory governance arena in Balsall Heath developed through resident activism in the fight against prostitution and drug-dealing in the area a few decades ago, the Valby arena grew out of smaller neighborhood associations and became the neighborhood Local Committee. These arenas attempt to enhance citizen participation, build capacity and solve local problems. While in Balsall Heath, actors face problems of coordination between different providers in solving residents problems, Valby attempts to solve problems, mainly social problems, through enhancement of democracy.

These two chapters also tell the story of different actors in the participatory governance arenas in Balsall Heath and Valby. These actors show the intricacies of the process of inclusion through representative claim-making in this form of governing. In Balsall Heath, spending a few afternoons with the neighborhood warden Mustafa showed that his representation of residents' interests is accepted in one arena, but not in another. Interviews and observations showed that a women's organization creator Saeeda has the function of women's representative without her acceptance. The Chief Executive of the Balsall Heath Forum Bob is an expert and creates rules of recognition that become the rules of accepting what is legitimate representation. The elected resident representative Ali has his interest rejected simply because he was not up to date with changes in national policy. These cases show that representative claims happen within specific contexts that are subject to rules of recognition that are flexible and temporary. These rules of recognition are created within the arenas and can go beyond democratic norms. Actors also come in to the arena with specific historic contexts that come into play when participating.

The Valby stories also shows that inclusion through representative claim-making is highly contextual and also shows how participatory governance arenas can be loci for what it could appear as efficient democratic involvement. In the participatory arena, an older lady Birgit becomes the youth representative for the deprived area of Akacieparken. The Somali youngster Abdi represents Somali women when asked. The immigrant representative Tareq is supposed to represent all immigrants and refugees but rarely speaks during the meetings. This also shows that context is important because the construction of immigrants as a group in Denmark allows for such cases of representation to be possible. Moreover, the arena is legitimized through representative claim-making. Instead of facing that there are no Somali women present in the meetings, organizers ask Abdi to speak for them. This makes the arena appear democratic and tick the box for Somali women interests, independently from any accountability from their part. Representation takes place and this claim is accepted. This shows that some democratic norms such as accountability and transparency can fly out the window in a meeting in favor of inclusion.

The comparison of both Balsall Heath in Birmingham and Valby in Copenhagen shows that since representation can be served on tap and happen without constituency acceptance, inclusion is a less-costly achievable democratic norm. Transparency and accountability become very costly in comparison to inclusion. The rule of election for example, becomes highly inefficient when inclusion can take place through representative claims. Actors consequently legitimize the participatory governance bodies through inclusion through representative claim-making within the

participatory governance arenas, instead of over-focusing on others democratic norms. Moreover, noting that elected resident representatives in Balsall Heath also had their claims rejected shows that elections do not take representatives closer to being politically included in these arenas. The risk of internal exclusion is high and does not diminish according to the democratic norm of election unless the actor is an elected politician. Valuing the process of claim-making can enrich debates of legitimacy and democracy and appreciate that these two concepts happen independent form each other within participatory governance.

8.1 Findings

Through representative claim-making, interests, opinions, voices are born. Representative claims are productive when they present a 'new something.' Studies of participatory governance arenas tend to assume that citizens are interest-full and should have room to voice such interests. The cases of these neighborhood arenas in Birmingham and Copenhagen show that there is a production of interest through claim-making. In Birmingham, the neighborhood warden argues that 99% of the people in the neighborhood do not agree with the expansion of the cricket ground. Such claim was not read-off from the 99% of the constituency, therefore it is important to appreciate its productive aspect. This is a clear example of productive aspect of claims that creates an interest in the name of a group.

Representative claims are performative as Michael Saward (2006) suggests and rules of recognition are what renders representation legitimate, as Andrew Rehfeld (2006) argues. There is a constant process of claim-making that takes place beyond participatory governance arenas. Actors perform the act of representative claim-making in front of audiences. Saward's model alone is not enough to understand why some claims are easily accepted and others rejected. Andrew Rehfeld's model of audience recognition provides the missing link however, Rehfeld concentrates on roles representatives take and representation happens outside these roles and functions. Therefore, both Saward and Rehfeld theories together make it possible to understand process of representative claim-making. Moreover, neither author deals with the issues of inclusion and exclusion in their understandings of representation, issues that are important when dealing with representation.

Findings show that some actors have a higher chance of having their claims accepted when performing. This chance is only a reflection of the rules of recognition that the audience in the participatory arena employs. These rules are contextual, flexible and temporally bound.

The participatory governance arenas follow a narrative that influences the possibility of acceptance of representative claims. Balsall Heath creates its own narrative that influenced political inclusion, however, Valby's narrative shows to be closer to the policies of the cities. Moreover, policy-makers adapt quickly to policy change in Balsall Heath making it even more difficult to have claims accepted. This requires that claim-makers are up to date with policy change. The experts, politicians easily adapt, however, citizens and group representatives are laggards in adopting new policy story-lines. First, even if citizens are participants alongside politicians, elected councilors, service providers, political inclusion requires more than being present. Gaining the status of 'affected' or stakeholder might allow apparent inclusion and participation in the arena, however, it is on a claim by claim basis that political inclusion manifests itself. Hence, process is key to understanding political inclusion. A quick shot into the participatory governance through the eyes of the

stakeholders through interviews do not suffice to understand this process hence other methods are necessary.

8.2 Contributions and future research

To conclude, participatory governance arenas are arenas where apparent inclusion can take place. Participants can make representative claims about themselves or others. These representative claims can be included independently from how democratically created they were. Representing shows to be a complex political process in which competing claims are evaluated by rules of recognition.

This study shows that observing representative claims blur the understandings of democratic representation. The norm of election blinds many to grasp that representation outside such norms happen anyways. Stuart Hall had already mentioned decades ago that cultural representations through the media matter. Andre Rehfeld (2006) argues that representations happen outside democratic norms and Michael Saward (2006) adds that these are not necessarily detrimental to democracy but could be beneficial. The current challenge is to unite such performative understandings of representation towards an ample range of context and policies to grasp and observe if representations produce new or cultivate the old. Participatory governance arenas can rule-rigid to accommodate representative claims that do not match the rules in place.

The observation of participatory governance processes are helpful different policy scholars and ideal for scholars of gender and multiculturalism. The two case studies also were cases of ethnically diverse neighborhoods and reflected such debates. The arenas of negotiations and deliberations at its micro-level are ideal to observe the manifestation of policy. Moreover, participatory governance could be spaces for the manifestations of inequalities in society.

The choice of methodology impacted the results of the study. Such qualitative study of participatory governance allows for the understanding of representative-claim making process within the arena, however, it fails to grasp the link between claims and their impact. First of all, this study cannot evaluate the democratic synchronization between a representative claim and the object it creates. For example, a claim about a certain group was not checked on its resonance with the group. It could be that the group accepts the claim. Furthermore, this study does not trace the impact of representative claims after its inclusion or exclusion. If a participatory governance arena accepts a claim, this model takes it as accepted but it does not evaluate problem-solving, impact or durability of the claim and that is not possibility to grasp in such study. Comparing two participatory governance arenas in two different countries allow for the understanding that national and city policies impact the representative claim-making acceptance process. Two arenas in the same city would not have given light to this larger context difference that influences claim-making and claim acceptance.

Methodological conclusions emphasize the importance of micro studies and procedural studies. The rules of recognition that are created to judge representative claims come within specific context. Understanding context is clearly vital however, it is through observation of the micro-level that it is possible to grasp contextual fluidity and temporality.

Understanding exclusion within participatory governance arenas is a tricky process since unspoken claims are obviously untraceable. The debate over inclusion and exclusion focuses on the search

for good representation, neglecting that representation is an act of making claims to represent (Saward 2005). To include assumes that a pre-given exists, without realizing that there is no pre-given interest that is 'out there'. A bold understanding of the concepts of inclusion and exclusion in governance modes of decision-making can only surge after understanding that representation is a performance, and an act in itself. Notions of inclusion and exclusion have underestimated the performative aspect of representation. If representation is an act, a performance, inclusion and exclusion are the consequences of such acts and performances. However, it is worthy to note that even what is excluded is often created. This problematizes the dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion. Tracing the process of representative claims is possible. However, it is difficult to declare exclusion of something that has not been represented.

Inclusion is a rarely challenged ingredient in the democratic recipe however, the pursuit of inclusion can make exclusions genuine and other democratic norms more costly or at least more difficult to achieve. The cases of Balsall Heath and Valby as participatory governance arenas show that the norm of inclusion can stay intact and valuable as long as some voices are heard or created. Through the apparent inclusion of a representative, participatory governance can use representation on tap to include various voices that are not necessarily connected to constituencies. This shows that democratic legitimacy through inclusion can be achievable on a procedural performative fashion making other democratic norms that representation is usually judged with, such as accountability and responsiveness, more difficult to achieve.

The democratic potentials of participatory governance can move forward if policy-makers are skeptical not only of legitimate representatives but also skeptical of illegitimate representatives. The case of Balsall Heath shows that the neighborhood warden, despite not being considered a formal representative, does a lot of representing nonetheless. While the case of Valby shows that actors can make shortcuts to inclusion and use representative claims on tap.

The focus on the process of representative claim-making and political inclusion is an important contribution of this dissertation. The contributions shed light on the complexities of representation in this mode of governing and trigger new questions in the study of democracy within participatory governance arenas. Taking into consideration this performative aspect of claim-making at the micro-level, new research can widen the microscope to further understand informal representative claim-making. This micro-process can expand to shadowing of different individuals that do not participate in the governance arenas. Such method could illuminate other patterns of exclusion.

Future research can address the impact of representative claims. Since representative claims can create interests that were nonexistent *a priori*, tracing the impact of such claim in future situations can be fruitful to understand if representative claims are adhesive and produce echo.

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Appendix I: Interviews, observations and shadowing log

Birmingham

Interviews

Mandir	Head of Equality	November 2007
Rami	Director of Refugee Council	November 2007
Ibrahim	Councilor of Sparkbrook	November 2007
Joanna	Refugee Councilor	January 2009
Mustafa	Neighborhood Warden	March 2009
Saeeda	Women's group organizer	March 2009
Bob	CEO Balsall Heath Forum	March 2009
Matt	Neighborhood manager	April 2009
Amir	Chair of Balsall Heath Forum	April 2009
Aisha	Councillor of Sparkbrook	July 2009
Mariam	Balsall Heath Forum Admin Work	July 2009
Robert	Housing Provider, ex-police	July 2009

Observations

Balsall Heath Forum Resident meetings	April 2009-November 2009 (3)
Sparkbrook Ward meetings	April 2009, August 2009 (4)
Balsall Heath and Sparkbrook Ward joint meeting	September 2009 (1)

Shadowing

Neighborhood Warden Mustafa	Walk around knocking on doors, lunch	4 hrs in 4 afternoons

Copenhagen

Interviews

Samir	City of Copenhagen Integration	November 2007
Mads	Valby Lokal Udvalg Secretary	November 2007
Birgit	Akacieparken and Youth rep	November 2007
Karen Lumholt	Politician and Integration Expert	February 2008
Mohamad	Immigrant and refugee representative	March 2008
Kristin	City of Copenhagen	March 2008

	Democracy	
Ahmad	Consultant	April 2008
Abdi	Valby Youth Club	April 2008

Observations

Valby Local Committee meetings	November 2007-March 2008 (4)
Akacieparken Youth meeting	March 2008- July 2008 (4)

Shadowing

Community Leader Birgit	Walk around, going to local meetings, organizing events	4 hrs in 4 evenings

Summary

This dissertation investigates political inclusion within participatory governance through an analysis of the complex representative claim-making process that takes place in this form of governing. Participatory governance arenas offer themselves as potential spaces for the inclusion of interests, opinions and perspectives that complement representative institutions. However, to understand how this inclusion takes place, this study delves into the process of representation in participatory governance arguing that this concept is central to any account of democracy.

Chapter 2 argues that theories of democracy have overlooked the aspect of representation in participation. Participation theorists have offered the concept as a complement or alternative to representative democracy underplaying the act of representation within participation. These perspectives place participation as a possible mechanism of inclusion proposing more participants being more into the arena. This disconnection between participation and representation influences studies of democratic quality of participatory governance that surges as an alternate to these democratic systems. However, participation in any form has an element of representation, even if it is self-representation and this issue requires exploration. Taking representation into account in participatory governance entails an appreciation of this aspect in participants in the governance process.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical background to empirically understand political inclusion through representative claim-making. Michael Saward (2006) proposes the concept of representative claim to understand the performative and constitutive aspect of representation that happens outside democratic norms. The theory of representation of Andrew Rehfeld also presents a way to understand representation outside norms, arguing that representation happens as long as the audience renders it legitimate. Rehfeld (2006) proposes that the audience uses rules of recognition to judge representation. Employing these understandings from both authors, this dissertation embarks on two case studies of local participatory governance arenas to understand how this takes place in action. Taking into account the temporal and flexible validity of rules in place, this chapter proposes a model in which political inclusion is possible thus, when the audience accepts the representative claim, according to its rules of recognition.

Chapter 4 presents the methodology, analytical framework and research design of the dissertation. Through an interpretive lens, the analytical framework composes this study to search for conditions of possibilities that encompass the perceptions of actors and how they make sense of the social world. This study of governance asks questions that researchers have not asked thoroughly therefore, a qualitative study of comparative case studies is ideal to dive into this new area of research. Participatory governance in Birmingham and in Copenhagen show that the process is important to understand how representative claims are made and how they are included and excluded. Documents, interviews, non-participant observations and shadowing of individuals comprise the methods. The data analysis focuses on representative claims and their process.

Chapter 5 shows the case of the local participatory governance in Balsall Heath in Birmingham. City and local initiatives promote the enhancement of local democracy to solve local problems and create capacity building. To understand the process of claim-making, five individuals in a local participatory governance arena of Birmingham and their claims show that the process is complex

and despite that there are roles representatives take on, this does not lead to internal inclusion. Internal inclusion happens on a claim by claim basis. Moreover, actors that are not formal representative within the participatory governance can be representative outside the arena. This case shows that the rules of recognition are very contextual and the audience is very fluid since in more informal settings, other rules of recognition apply.

Chapter 6 shows the case of the local participatory governance in Valby in Copenhagen. To enhance local democracy and involve citizens and allow citizens to be heard, this participatory governance arena attempts to include different stakeholders. Four individuals make various representative claims showing that the acceptance of these claims depend on the rules of recognition in place but more importantly these claims create political subjects to be included. Representative claims construct the subjects and the acceptance of these claims allow for the inclusion of these subjects. The case shows that group representative claims can be included, despite the absence of group members, illuminating that the process of inclusion goes beyond who is present or absent in the participatory governance arena.

Chapter 7 compares the cases, discusses the findings and answers the research questions showing that the narrative of the participatory governance arenas along with the policies in place influence the capacity of acceptance of representative claims. Political inclusion requires that not only the subject of representation is recognized, but more importantly, the claim-maker, who can differ from the subject since actors make claims about others. The two cases differ in city juxtaposition between policy context and local narratives. While Valby actors reported a similar narrative about which political subjects that should be included, the Balsall Heath narrative is more contested.

Chapter 8 summarizes the dissertation and concludes. The comparative study of two cases of local participatory governance arenas in Birmingham and Copenhagen show that representation happens outside democratic norms through a complex process in which actors make claims about each other, challenging traditional understandings of participation. Besides a new understanding of participation in which participants are not only responsible for being the claim-makers, but also the claim-receivers, this study shows that political subjects are created and recreated in these participatory arenas and can be included without their presence.

Article I, II and III follow. Article I argues that liberal theories of democracy have always been occupied with the question of how to ensure minority interests in democratic processes and points to new forms of governance that provide new ways to deal with the issue. Exploring how and why minority problems are produced, Article I overviews proposed ways to deal with the problems and points to participatory governance as a potential space for democratic representation of minority interests. Article II explores the pursuit of democratic inclusion and efforts to ensure the widest possible degree of inclusion in contemporary democracies. A normative ambition in democracy is to ensure that the affected have a voice. In representative democracy and direct democracy, despite this ambition, systematic exclusions take place. New forms of governance offer new spaces for problem oriented and flexible patterns of representation. This article argues a sound democracy allows and encourages a permanent democratization process. Article III empirically investigates two local participatory governance arenas in Balsall Heath and Valby, showing that the participatory governance arena can accept, negotiate or reject representative claims.

Resumé

Denne afhandling undersøger politisk inklusion i participatory governance gennem en analyse af de komplekse processer for claim-making, der finder sted i denne form for styringsprocesser. Participatory governance finder sted i arenaer, der tilbyder sig selv som potentielle rum for inddragelse af interesser, holdninger og perspektiver, der komplementerer og støtter de repræsentative institutioner. For at forstå hvordan denne inddragelse finder sted, er det dog nødvendigt at dykke ned i de processer der indbyder til repræsentation i participatory governance, da at dette begreb er centralt for en beretning om inklusion i et demokrati.

Kapitel 2 argumenterer, at hidtidige teorier om demokrati har overset begrebet repræsentation som et aspektet i deltagelsesprocessen. Tilhængere af deltagelsesteori har foreslået begrebet som et supplement eller alternativ til det repræsentative demokrati hvorved de har underdrevet betydningen af repræsentation som en del af selve deltagelsen. Disse perspektiver skildrer deltagelse som en mulig mekanisme til inklusion, ved at foreslå inddragelse af flere deltagere til arenaen. Denne afkobling mellem deltagelse og repræsentation påvirker studierne af den demokratiske kvalitet af participatory governance, der bryder frem som et alternativ til disse demokratiske systemer. Deltagelse i enhver form har dog et element af repræsentation, selv om det er egenrepræsentation og dette problem kræver udforskning. At tage repræsentation i betragtning indenfor participatory governance kræver derfor en nøje vurdering af dette aspekt hos deltagerne i styringsprocessen.

Kapitel 3 præsenterer den teoretiske baggrund til empirisk forståelse af politisk inklusion gennem participatory governance. Michael Saward (2006) foreslår begrebet "representative claim" for bedre at forstå det performative og konstituerende aspekt af repræsentationen, der sker udenfor demokratiske normer. Teorien om repræsentation af Andrew Rehfeld udgør endnu en måde hvorpå man kan forstå repræsentation når den finder sted udenfor demokratiske normer og den hævder endvidere, at repræsentationen sker, så længe publikum godkender det som legitimt. Rehfeld (2006) foreslår, at publikum bruger regler for anerkendelse til at bedømme repræsentation. Ved at anvende begge disse forfatteres forståelser for repræsentation, begiver denne afhandling sig ud i to case studier af lokale arenaer for participatory governance, for at forstå hvordan dette finder sted i praksis. Under hensyntagen til den midlertidige og fleksible gyldighed af reglerne i bestemte arenaer, foreslår dette kapitel en model, hvor den politiske inklusion således er mulig så længe publikum accepterer et representative claim i henhold til sine regler for anerkendelse.

Kapitel 4 præsenterer analyseramme og research design og arbejdsmetoder som afhandlingen bygger på. Gennem en fortolkende linse, sammensætter analyserammen denne undersøgelse for at søge efter mulighedsbetingelserne, som omfatter aktørers opfattelser af den sociale verden og hvordan de bygger mening op omkring denne. Denne undersøgelse af styringen stiller spørgsmål, som forskerne indtil videre ikke har spurgt grundigt nok og derfor er en kvalitativ undersøgelse af komparative casestudier ideel til at dykke ned i dette nye forskningsområde. Arenaer for participatory governance i Birmingham og i København viser, at processen er vigtig for at forstå, hvordan representative claims bliver til og hvordan de inkluderes og ekskluderes. Dokumenter, interviews, ikke-deltager observationer og skygning af enkeltpersoner er nogle anvendelsesmetoder. Den efterfølgende analyse af data fokuserer på representative claims og deres tilblivelsesproces.

Kapitel 5 viser det fremstiller et eksempel på lokal participatory governance i Balsall Heath i Birmingham. Kommunale og lokale initiativer er på plads for at fremme en forbedring af det lokale demokrati til at løse lokale problemer og skabe kapacitetsopbygning. For at forstå processen

omkring claim-making, ligger fokus på fem personer i en lokal participatory governance arena i Birmingham og deres krav viser, at processen er kompleks og at der på trods af de roller som repræsentanter påtager sig, ikke nødvendigvis er intern integration af deres krav. Hvorvidt der sker intern integration afgøres fra krav til krav. Desuden kan aktører, der ikke er formelle repræsentanter i den officielle participatory governance arene, være repræsentative uden for arenaen. Denne sag viser, at reglerne om anerkendelse er meget kontekstuelle og publikum er meget flydende, fordi der i mere uformelle rammer, er andre regler for anerkendelse.

Kapitel 6 drejer sig om den lokale participatory governance i Valby i København. For at styrke det lokale demokrati og inddrage borgerne og give borgerne at blive høringstid, forsøger denne participatory governance arena at inkludere forskellige interessenter. Fire personer fremfører forskellige repræsentative claims som viser, at anerkendelsen af disse claims afhænger af arenaens regler for anerkendelse, men måske endnu vigtigere er det, at disse claims skaber politiske emner der inkluderes. Repræsentative claims konstruerer emner og anerkendelsen af disse claims giver mulighed for inklusion af disse emner. Casen viser, at repræsentative gruppekrav kan indgå, trods gruppemedlemmernes manglende tilstedeværelse, hvilket belyser, at inklusionsprocessen går ud over hvem der er til stede eller fraværende i den participatoriske styringsarena.

Kapitel 7 sammenligner de to cases, diskuterer resultaterne og besvarer forskningsspørgsmålene og viser derved, at narrativet som omkranser participatory governance arenaer i forening med den gældende politik har indflydelse på kapaciteten for anerkendelse af repræsentative claims. Politisk inklusion kræver anerkendelse ikke blot at objektet for repræsentation, men endnu vigtigere, af personen som fremsætter kravet om repræsentation, hvilket kan afvige fra objektet, eftersom aktører kan fremsætte påstande om andre. De to cases er forskellige i kraft af byernes sammenstilling mellem politisk kontekst og lokale narrativer. Mens Valbys aktører rapporterede et enslydende narrativ om, hvilke politiske emner som bør inkluderes, så er narrativet i Balsall Heath i langt højere grad anfægtet kvarterets aktører.

Kapitel 8 opsummerer afhandlingen og konkluderer. Den komparative undersøgelse af de to tilfælde af lokal participatory governance arenaer i Birmingham og København viser, at repræsentationen sker uden demokratiske normer gennem en kompleks proces, hvor aktørerne fremlægger påstande om hinanden, og derved udfordre traditionelle opfattelser af deltagelse. Udover en ny forståelse af deltagelse, hvor deltagerne ikke kun er ansvarlige for at være claim makers, men også modtagere af claims, viser denne undersøgelse, at politiske emner skabes og genskabes i disse participatoriske arenaer og kan inkluderes uden deres tilstedeværelse.

Artikel I, II og III følger. Artikel I hævder, at liberale teorier om demokrati altid har været optaget af spørgsmålet om, hvordan man sikrer minoritetsinteresser i demokratiske processer og peger på nye former for styring, der giver nye måder at behandle spørgsmålet. Ved at undersøge hvordan og hvorfor mindretalsproblemer produceres, giver artikel I et overblik over forslag til måder at håndtere problemerne og peger på participatorisk regeringsførelse som en potentiel plads til demokratisk repræsentation af minoritetsinteresser. Artikel II udforsker udøvelse af demokratisk integration og bestræbelserne på at sikre den bredest mulige optagelse i moderne demokratier. En normativ ambition i demokrati er at sikre, at de berørte har en stemme. På trods af denne ambition, findes der i det repræsentative demokrati og direkte demokrati systematiske eksklusion sted. Nye styreformer giver nye rum for problemorienteret og fleksible mønstre for repræsentation. Denne artikel argumenterer, at et sundt demokrati tillader og tilskynder til en permanent demokratiseringsproces. Artikel III er et empirisk studie, der undersøger to lokale participatory governance arenaer i Balsall Heath og Valby, og dokumenterer, at en participatory governance

arena kan acceptere, forhandle eller afvise repræsentant krav. Dette viser, hvor kompleksiteten i repræsentative claim-making processer.

Part II: Articles

Article I: Inclusion and exclusion in contemporary governance

Article II: Prospects for representation of minority interests in contemporary governance

Article III: Negotiating representative claims in local participatory governance

Article I: Inclusion and exclusion in contemporary governance

Abstract

Inclusion is a rarely challenged norm of democracy. The common theoretical and empirical studies over the norms of inclusion and exclusion in contemporary democracies have focused on w*ho* should be included, *what* should be included and *how* this can happen. Various mechanisms are pursued to achieve the most democratic inclusion. However, democracies still fail to reach complete inclusion and exclusion is seen as the malady of a robust democracy. Group representation offers a possible way to amend such problems of inclusion and exclusion but such mechanism is far from problematic. Moreover, contemporary modes of governance that attempt to include stakeholders in decision-making processes bring a more problem-oriented approach to representation, posing questions to the capacity of the representative arena. This article recognizes that a sound democracy, despite its imperfections, can only be under completion and encourage a permanent process of democratization.

1. Introduction

The dynamic and causal relationship between forms of inclusion and exclusion is at the center of the debate of the quality of democracy. Traditional liberal representative democracies have clearly not had a struggle-free history of inclusion. Liberal representative democracies that maintain patterns of exclusion are flawed not only in their *modus operandi* but also in their democratic essence. Primarily, some scholars argue that more inclusive democracies invigorate government effectiveness and functioning (Kymlicka, 1995; Marcussen & Torfing, 2006). Merits of legitimacy and accountability of electoral systems tend to be linked to the inclusionary capacities of the system (Phillips, 1995; Scharpf, 1999; Young, 2000; Esmark, 2007). At a more abstract level, at the core of democracy are values such as the autonomy of the people, equal rights, freedom of speech and sharing of power and influence. An unbalance in these values can be treated as a form of exclusion. Moreover, elected representatives can hardly embody the voices of all their constituents and power and influence is rarely equitous, leaving inclusion to be desired. For these reasons, exclusion is treated as the malady of traditional representative democratic institutions.

As attempts to include rarely heard interests, promote participation and solve problems, initiatives that favor policy networks of public consultations and deliberations have mushroomed. These contemporary governance initiatives which do not only gain democratic legitimacy, but also aim for effectiveness and efficiency, emerge in various policy areas across the globe. Nevertheless, this new form of governing that complements existing representative institutions is not necessarily all inclusive. The dynamics inside these arrangements are vital to determine its inclusionary capacity and exclusionary tendencies.

This article turns away from the investigation of possibilities to raise the inclusionary capabilities of traditional representative democratic institutions and averts from discussing the trade-off between from effectiveness, efficiency and democracy in these new modes of policy-making. Instead, this article focuses on the critical examination of the elements that impinge on inclusion and exclusion in contemporary governance styles of policy-making to highlight the urgency to understand "what it

takes" to include. Instead of covering the sun with a sieve with attempts to fix the less than perfect electoral systems, divergence towards the promotion of new forms of *democratizing democracy* that add to, rather than dilute traditional representative models, are more optimistic.

Opportunities for understanding the process of inclusion in contemporary modes of governing call for a rethinking of traditional notions of inclusion and exclusion in democratic thoughts. Theories and practices of inclusion often fail to address the process of constructing what and who is to be included nor the how this inclusion takes place. Emerging modes of contemporary governance have even more implications on democratic inclusion due to styles of policy-making that seem to blur vital principles of traditional liberal representative democracy since decision-making in public affairs is taking place in arenas where a plurality of actors participates in various stages of the policy processes, from agenda-setting to policy implementation. Calling attention to this form of public governance is not a matter of purely instigating fear of corrosion of traditional representative democracies; rather, it is a matter of potentially taming the common misunderstandings of inclusion and exclusion in existing societies.

Amendments to exclusions in democratic thought have an obsessive emphasis with group representation as a way to enhance representative democracies. The second section explains traditional forms of inclusion and exclusion in liberal democracies. The third section introduces explores how contemporary theories and practices attempted to remedy exclusionary tendencies in established democracies and how group representation is a common attempt to fix exclusions. The fourth section presents new forms of contemporary governance that serve as new spaces for new forms of representation. These modes of governing are multi-level, more decentralized and often less hierarchical than traditional forms of governing and focus on problem-oriented stakeholder involvement. The fifth section delves into inclusion and exclusion within these modes of governing arguing that the focus on the norm of affectedness changes the concept of democratic inclusion but does not necessarily erase the problems of other forms of democracy. The conclusion raises empirical questions and proposes that a combination of different modes of representation and democratization of democracy is the furthest and deepest societies can achieve.

2. Traditional concepts of inclusion and exclusion

Inclusion is a rarely challenged norm of democracy and a normative ambition in democracy is to ensure that individuals have influence on decisions that affect them. Established democratic societies praise their inclusionary capabilities and fear exclusionary patterns. Despite differences in liberal democracies, most share the principle that citizens of a democratic society should have equal access to power and that citizens enjoy universally recognized freedoms and liberties. Representative democracies are rooted in norms of fair elections, freedoms of speech, expression and press, avoiding problems of exclusion. Even though notions of the *demos*, nationhood and citizenship (and capitalism for some) are very much exclusionary per definition, the unacceptable malady of democratic societies appears to be exclusion. Democratic societies even adopt the norm of equity to fight inequalities, asymmetries of power and the deprivation of rights and privileges. Moreover, not only in theory, but also in practice, recent emphasis on social justice, gender equality and multiculturalism have fostered as huge opponents of exclusions. Representative institutions have been created, shuffled, recreated and reshuffled in attempt to widen inclusionary capacities of the systems to include the "affected" and extinguish exclusionary patterns.

Defining inclusion and exclusion is common, fatigued but still complicated. Accounts of justice and observations of just societies matter, but it is usually the negative encounters of injustice that force the emphasis on inclusion. Or accounts of exclusion are nothing less than designing the utopia of inclusion. Concepts of social, political, economic and cultural inclusions rise in the fight for exclusions and dominations. Where social and cultural inclusions refer to access to society, political inclusion refers to access to political life and decision-making whereas economic inclusion tend to refer to inclusion in the labor market. Equality of rights, citizenship rights and equal access to electoral systems have become essential pillars to the functioning of democratic societies and all these pillars have contributed to the incontestability of the norm of inclusion. Inclusion is an action that combats exclusion.

Traditional theories have defined affectedness with reference to the notion of citizenship. The origins of liberal thinking grounded the concept of citizenship within a particular *demos*. Citizenship is still the core of democracy. Since Plato, the concept of citizenship was used to designate rights earned through living in a society, actively participating in the political decisions of the city. Accordingly, the concept of citizenship encompasses the notion of political rights, allowing individuals to intervene in society, either in the public sphere or in the state, participating, directly or indirectly in the creation of government and its administration. From republican citizens to liberal citizens, from military duties to voting, citizenship refers to the duties and rights that are granted, deserved or earned. This grant, merit or reward can only exist because of the perceived existence of prohibitions, disadvantages and punishment.

> "To be free democratically is not only to be able to participate in various ways in accordance with the principles, rules, and procedures of the constitutional system, as important as this is, but also, and crucially, always to be able to take one step back, dissent and call into question the principles, rules, or procedures by which one is governed and to enter into (rule-governed) deliberations over them, or usually over a subset of them, with those who govern" (Tully, 2005).

Established democracies have employed mechanisms to advance inclusions and amend previous exclusions but forms of exclusion seem inescapable. Mechanisms for inclusion can have similarities to direct democracies and representative democracies. In direct democracies, the individual that carries a set of interests can step in to the decision-making table or vote on the decisions that pertain to him or her. In this case, arenas for decision-making are wide. Other types of inclusion are more indirect and attempt to empower individuals giving them chances to voice their interests and be heard. Direct inclusion mechanisms have created quotas, amendments and affirmative actions for individuals that have not participated equally as other citizens of the polity. In this apparatus, individuals can receive compensations for the injustices of the institutions that have marginalized them. Other mechanisms follow the representative democracy model and focus on the representativeness of the interests. In this case, attempts to widen the representative arena are made to include representatives of marginalized interests. Actions have been hopeful; however, the problem lies in the assumptions of ready-made interests and the possible idyllic representativeness of such interests.

Direct democracy supporters with roots in Greek classical democracy support the direct and equal inclusion of all those defined as citizens. In this form of democracy, citizens participates and exercise power without representatives to participate on their behalf. Direct democracies have roots in ancient Athens where citizens vote on legislation and executive bills in their own right.

Switzerland and the United States are examples of modern states with direct democracy mechanisms through which citizens through *referenda* can influence the political agenda. Inclusion in direct democracy manifests itself through each citizen having a voice and participating equally.

Representative democracy theorists agree citizens can have equal influence and choose their representatives to participate and make decisions on their behalf. This more efficient mode of governing faces vast and deep discussions concerning its quality and effectiveness. Inclusion in representative democracy can take place through election of candidates who speak for individuals, act, stand for them or a combination of these. More norms started becoming attributed to the quality of representative democracy such as equality and later, equity. Equality is one of the main relational concepts to inclusion. Equality appears to be widespread but there are thresholds to its omnipresence. Many constitutions in democratic societies state as their first amendment that citizens are equal under the rule of law. The "one citizen, one vote" agreement in modern societies is an illustration that since decisions affect the citizen, the citizen should have a vote.

1. Remedies for exclusions

Criticisms of democracy lie in the systematic exclusions that take place within practicing modes of democracy. Exclusions are sometimes necessary and permissible for the sake of equality and freedom. Exclusions, that appear to be the stray jacket of liberal democracies, are sometimes justifiable. Already in classical greek democracies, there were clear exclusions due to age, gender and wealth. Until today, many countries have a minimum voting age and specific voting rights according to citizenship.

The less-than-all-inclusive democratic institutions led, not only theorists, but democratic societies to value "equity" to foster inclusion and prevent exclusions. Some theorists would say that equal access to elections is vital (Dahl, 1971). Electoral systems have shown that "majority rules" and this ruling has become a characteristic feature of democracy. However, majority rule should not lead to the "tyranny of the majority" (Tully, 2005, p.195). Equal elections have become the backbone of established liberal societies. The whole "one citizen one vote" deal is an illustration that since citizens are affected by policies, the citizen should have a vote. However, unfair elections, unequal resources, lack of empowerment and even institutionalized racism have been some of the reasons for exclusion of some in representative democracies. There has been a great deal of talk about marginalization in societies. Individuals have suffered cultural, social and political marginalization. After the common problem of marginalization in electoral systems and the potential "disenfranchisement of minorities" (Mill, 1861/2001), the norm of equity becomes essential. Equity in terms of equal access and equal possibility of influence is vital for the fostering of inclusion of democracies.

With time, the concept of citizenship was widened and constructed into notions of nationhood. In contemporary democracies, nationality is the primordial condition of an individual of a State in order to exercise political rights. Political rights are secure within a Constitution that tends to establish universal suffrage as a principle of participation. It is clear that citizenship is hierarchical and not at all equal. Since Kant who claimed that only adult males, property owners, could be citizens, until now, citizenship includes some and excludes others. (Kant, 1793). As an example of the limits of citizenship, migrants and non-citizens might have different voting rights as citizens. In

Denmark, for instance, migrants vote in local elections but no right to vote in national elections. Different societies have different explanations and justifiable limits for their limits of equality.

Inclusion and equity grew to be complimentary due to the rise of world inequalities. Unequal distribution of power has hardened possibilities for inclusion. Luckham, Goetz & Kaldor (2000) claim that substantive democracies exist only with distribution of power and when citizens are able to participate in the decisions that affect his or her life. Dahl blames capitalism claiming it generates "inequalities in social and economic resources so great as to bring severe violations of political equality and hence of the democratic process" (Dahl, 1985, p.60).

Exclusions of some form, it is almost needless to say, seem unavoidable and often justifiable. The inclusionary capacity of democracies legitimizes democracy and democratic societies have been concerned with their institutional arrangements. The most common form of exclusion remains the exclusions that make difficult, forbid or discourage individuals to do, act, make and own as their will. Scholars and practitioners portray this inclusionary incapacity as a malady of the representative institutional capacity. Despite democratic elections and equality of all in the demos, if democratic societies were a religion, exclusion would be a sin. The combat against patterns of exclusion in traditional representative democratic institutions is commonly a combat that depends on representative capacity of democracies. Neither direct nor representative democracies have been able to solely promote perfect inclusion.

Debates of inclusion in traditional modes of governing vary. Some theorists advocate for the stepping of representatives into the decision-making process. Widening the representational capacity of decision-making arenas is key for some inclusion advocates. The complaints that some individuals have been excluded is nothing more than an assumption that these individuals have interests and these interests should be presented equally to other included interests. Theorists who support mirror societies (Mill, 1861/2001), gender quotas (Marques-Pereira & Siim, 2001) or affirmative action, as ways to ensure inclusion, assume that groups of individuals have interests that have been marginalized. In this manner of understanding inclusion, one set of interests belongs to each individual and the chances are that the same interests in another individual allows for the formation of a group. Interests are assumed to be more similar than different within a group. Descriptive, symbolic representation and mirror of society democracy theorists advocate based on group representation.

For other types of inclusion, there are participatory, deliberative democracy and discursive representation advocates. In participatory democracy, the assumption is that different individuals have their own set of interests. A fresh perspective of democratic inclusion is to focus on the inclusion of discursive representation. Instead of concentrating on the inclusion of individuals, representation of various discourses could be the focal point to ameliorate democracy, as Dryzek and Niemeyer suggest (2008). Therefore, democratic inclusion can also take place in the form of inclusion of representatives that stand for a broad range of discourses. Enforcing the inclusion of different discourses can be a way to supplement traditional democratic institutions.

The inclusive and demographical characteristics of the representational arena are of much attention to policy-makers and scholars in the past decades. The echoing of feminism and multiculturalism fans puts women and ethnic minorities as a central concern in the debate of inclusion. Feminist and multiculturalist advocates appear to have developed a concrete and practical operationalization of their theories but often end up advocating for more descriptive representation of women and ethnic minorities. However, as Karen Bird (2004) explains, there has been a failure to distinguish between implications of descriptive representation for women and ethnic minorities. Empirical studies have

shown how different institutional arrangements, with different descriptive representational capacities, allow for policies of women's interests. However, the same studies with ethnic minorities are very rare. A few of the present ones are the case Blacks and Latinos in neighborhood councils in the United States (Guo & Musso, 2007). This preoccupation with women and ethnic minorities lead to requests for descriptive representations, but the problem again falls on the concept of group representation. These representations however, are tricky and understanding their impact calls for an analysis of representation and inclusion.

2. The problem of group representation

The unavoidabilities and justifiabilities of exclusions in democratic societies have in common the context in which they exist: representative democracies. The difficulties of fighting exclusions are a result of the ontology of inclusion and exclusion. The ontology of representation has been flawed as Catlaw (2008) stresses. Representative democracies depend on the representation but tend to under emphasize the agency of representatives in shaping the constituency. The traditional concepts of representation also reflect the same values such as equality and affectedness. As Hanna Pitkin claims, a representative represents the represented and should be held accountable and should be responsive to their constituencies that are very much affected by their decisions (Pitkin, 1967). Even representation theorists that do not emphasize the need for representative responsiveness of the representative such as Thomas Hobbes would still realize that, besides the good judgment of the representative, the represented are affected by the representative. For these reasons, democratic inclusion in representative democracy is a relational concept to the concept of representation.

The imperfections of the electoral systems in modern societies have led to the exclusion of interests and voter turnout and party memberships, the traditional measures of a healthy democracy, are declining. Gerry Stoker (2006) claims that the voter turnout decline in liberal democracies is a symptom of the fatigue due to growing societal complexity and challenge. This exact decline alarms the advocates of inclusion, since the electoral system has been seen as the best mechanism for inclusion.Established democratic societies seem *unrepresentative* and carry a *democratic deficit*. Women, ethnic minorities, disabled individuals and some social classes are some among many groups that often appear as underrepresented. This under-representation is demonstrative of a deliberate or unintentional act of omission and exclusion of certain "given interest." At times, the request is for descriptive representation, other times the request is for substantive, symbolic representation. The imperfections of the representative arenas produce systematic under-representation of a certain interest and this repeated non-representation is the ignition of patterns of exclusion. Societies have taken measures and institutional changes as a way to ensure inclusion and amend previous exclusions or "institutionalized exclusions."

International institutions focus on human rights, interests in social justice and the rise of acceptances of social groups have been some of the causes for the focus on amendment of exclusions. Furthermore, society complexity impedes government effectiveness and governments are can be more effective in stronger inclusionary democracies (Torfing, 2007). Not only political parties, but also private companies have adopted policies that promote inclusion. Quotas have been introduced in various countries to increase the proportion of women or ethnic minorities in the political arena. An example in Europe is Norway that has adopted such policies to balance out gender gaps.

Mechanisms of group representation surge as potential enhancement to democratic institutions. Exclusion in forms of domination, oppression and marginalization results from domination of majorities and a highly popular discourse of social justice with social groups. *Social groups* refer to groups who have suffered some type of exclusion and have higher difficulty in enjoying full capacity of their citizenship. Attempts of assimilations of oppressed social groups would only be self-created entrapment of the democratic societies by reinforcing disadvantage (Young,1990). Moreover, the huge neoliberal wave has widened the gap between the rich and the poor, reinforcing inequalities. Inequalities are, as Dahl (1971) suggested, harming to the notion of political equality. If exclusion is the lack of privileges, focus on social justice attempts to maintain or not strip individuals of privileges. However, privileges themselves per definition are what some have and others do not have.

Scholarly literature about inclusion reflects the concern on the demographic composition of the representative institutions. Very much rooted out of feminism and multiculturalism, authors such as Anne Phillips (1995), Iris Marion Young (2000) and Will Kymlicka (1995) favor mechanisms that allow for representation of certain groups realizing the challenges of descriptive representation. Anne Phillips argues for more inclusive assemblies that favor descriptiveness. In this case, quotas for ethnic minorities could be put in place to mirror society. However, this preferential treatment could undermine equality of all citizens.

Group representation carries problems that are often unfixable and hopes that are unattainable. First, creating, delineating or essentialising a group can ignore internal group diversities. Grouping emphasizes differences, rather than promote similarities. Second, group accountability is not less difficult than any other form of accountability. Third, grouping can harm social cohesion. Fourth and most importantly, arenas that allow for group representation presuppose group empowerment. Scholars count on the communicative and deliberative capacity of the group. Iris Marion Young (2000) claim that deliberations that are more inclusive of different groups have more horizon-broadening capacity. Young argues that mere group presence in the deliberations do not necessarily lead to a successful inclusion. Groups could face internal exclusion and that would only replicate previous marginalisation and oppressions. In these cases, institutions that are mirrors of society would not necessarily make an arena more inclusive. Rather, as Young explains, groups that have suffered electoral systematic exclusion and marginalization should have group representation, for example, women and ethnic minorities. Kymlicka (1995), however, argues that Young's aspirations of group representation would lead to the unfeasible proliferation of self-proclaimed marginalized groups. Theorists have also realized the problems of group representation and correcting democratic deficit in terms of democratic norms. Kymlicka (1995) describes the difficulty to amalgamate the accountability and responsiveness requests with group representation.

The concepts of inclusion and exclusion, in traditional established democracies, are symptoms of the imperfect representational capacity of institutions. Thus, this dialectic concept depends very much on the representative capacity of the representative per se. As if an elected representative, a self-interest representative or a representative of any pre-given that was present and now needs to be "re-presented." This assumption of the "pre-given present" is precisely the paradox of the concepts of inclusion and exclusion. To include is to ask for a pre-given to take place and participate, however, what is to be included is what is not being represented. When institutions create inclusionary mechanisms to alleviate exclusion, institutions attempt to allow for more representational capacity of different factors such as interests, identities or diversities of perspectives, often in forms of requests for symbolic, descriptive and substantive representation.

Analyzing inclusion and exclusion through representation is necessary to grasp the complexity of the supposed dichotomy.

The malady of the dichotomy between inclusion and exclusion is merely a relational symptom of the malady between what is represented and what is non-represented. Problems for democratic inclusion reflect the difficulties of achieving group representation. Can women represent women? Do minorities represent minorities? Feminists and multiculturalism theorists have investigated these questions. However, the unidirectional link between the representative and represented requires more focus that goes beyond this link or the unsolved problems with group representation can linger in any form of democracy.

3. Inclusion and exclusion in contemporary governance

Recent changes in governance practices have an uneasy alliance with democracy since they introduce a more problem oriented and flexible patterns of representation. The increasing focus on governance rather than government brings dynamic changes to public decision-making in established democracies. Consultative mechanisms, community involvement and stakeholder involvement are among the machineries that challenge the traditional hierarchical institutional structures. Governance trends are often a response to the diminishing ability of the state to solve wicked and intricate problems that flood sectorially-organized policy-making structures (Sterling, 2005; Healey, 2006) Some researchers argue that such decentralized governance practices might open up "new spaces" for participation, democratic inclusion and public involvement (Hajer, 2005; Barnes, Newman & Sullivan, 2004; Newman 2005). At the same time, for others, these mechanisms might appear corrosive to democratic institutions, blurring accountability and legitimacy (Rhodes, 1996). Instead of inclusion and exclusion in such governance modes is a dynamic process in which actors make claim to be representatives. This dynamic process of inclusion within governance differs from inclusion in traditional hierarchical institutions for three reasons: the realization that the representative claim is only and solely a claim to represent, the focus on the norm of affectedness rather than equality and the interplay between recognition and legitimacy.

Modes of governing that focus on collaboration are emerging. This divergence from traditional modes of governing is a response to state's inability to solve complex and wicked problems in contemporary societies. As Sterling (2005) points out, these processes that favor collaboration do not necessarily mean that collaboration is successful. These processes are the corollaries from discourses of partnerships, collaborative dialogues and community involvement. This complexity does not force traditional institutions to shuffle; rather, this is the reflection that institutions cannot handle problems alone due to neo-liberal tendencies, New Public Management or market-based strategic approaches. These processes aim to include stakeholders of different stages of policy-making: citizens, civic associations, private actors and more. Broad range of literature concentrates on the effectiveness and efficiency of these modes of governing. Even though the goal of such arrangements might not be one of "democratizing democracy", these new arenas often give possibilities for inclusion and the amelioration of the "democratic deficit." Understanding the democratic performance (Mathur & Skelcher, 2007) and democratic anchorage (Sørensen &Torfing, 2005) within governance can be a refreshing way to think of the concepts of inclusion and exclusion.

These decentralized modes of governing press on the norm of "affectedness" challenging the underpinning democratic norm of equality. This change in norm focus changes the meaning and awareness of the norm of inclusion making inclusion contestable and debatable. In representative democracies, equity and equality are essential. Moreover, liberal democratic theory, rights are at the core of citizenry. In contemporary governance, however, possibility of access to decision-making processes is unequal. An array of actors, elected and non-elected, claiming to be representatives, participate in public policy-making, fogging the norm of equality. Some scholars such as Dryzek (2000) are positive about the quality of democracy in contemporary governance and claim that, these modes of governing can widen the scope for contestation, envigorating democracy. Others are more reluctant, such as March and Olsen (1995) arguing that these decision-making processes could also be a threat to sovereign position of elected government. Classical liberal thinker Alexis de Tocqueville (1832/2000) once said equality was so adjacent to democracy that there would be no equality without a democratic culmination. However, if "affectedness" is a norm, can it survive alongside "equality" without a democratic termination? This norm of equality blurs in the exact moment these new channels for participation and representation rise as in governance arrangements. These decentralized decision-making arenas top the "one citizen one vote" deal giving voice to stakeholders, shareholders or interest holders.

Inclusions call for exclusions. However, without giving farewell to the norm of equality, in the case of contemporary governance, equal possibilities of access to participation are important in the aim for inclusive governance arrangements. Governance arrangements can be instruments to achieve inclusion of previously excluded interests. On the other hand, contemporary governance mechanisms can perpetuate elitism in public-policy making. Denying the exclusionary characteristics of the contemporary decentralized modes of governing is naïve. Assorted forms of exclusion permeate society, some of which are customary. Therefore, governance arrangements have also exclusionary endemics (Griggs & Howarth, 2007). This may seem rather pessimistic, but it can also reflect a more constructive way of highlighting the extent to which patterns of inclusion and exclusion are dependent upon institutional designs, rather than lack of empowerment and political alienation. Given the paradoxes of inclusion and exclusion within contemporary governance, unpacking "what it takes" to become a stakeholder is very fruitful to gain access to these decision-making arenas.

Various scholars are optimistic about this stakeholder involvement and the emphasis on the deliberative aspect of democracy. Fung and Wright (2003) argue that deliberations enhance democratic quality. However, a deliberation can be a mechanism of proper democratic enhancement, after realizing it is these deliberations that create political community and meaningful participation. (Hajer, 2005; Saward, 2005). The emergence of deliberative arenas gives room to the creation of new meanings and new understanding of issues. An English city that plans to install CCTV cameras to reduce anti-social behavior might invite the police, residents and private actors as stakeholders in this decision-making process that is often, a process of deliberations and negotiations. Even though the main goal of the deliberations could have been to consult citizens, the deliberations might bring reflections over CCTV that were not *a priori* to participation.

A stakeholder model of contemporary governance offers a new perspective on representation since this norm of affectedness involves groups that are relevant case by case. Contemporary governance mechanisms, independently of their goal, constitute the stakeholders bringing questions of representation to light.

4. Combining forms of representation in contemporary governance

If a form of governing that promotes involvement of different sectors allows for the representation in a more problem-oriented approach, can this be more inclusive? How can societies vanish problems of the systematic exclusion within direct and representative democracy and problems of group representation? In the case of these modes of governing, the process of gaining recognition as stakeholders is also a struggle in itself. This request for stakeholder inclusion challenges traditional liberal democracy and the democratic principles of equality and furthermore, stakeholder involvement falls back on group representation. Within contemporary governance, inclusion is also a dynamic performative process and gaining access as a representative is a result of the interplay of policy discourses, institutional designs and acting and staging skills.

The policy discourse and conceptualization of problems and solutions in a specific governance arena delineate the possibilities for inclusion and exclusion. Maarten Hajer's concept of discourse (Hajer, 1995) demonstrates the construction of public policy as a construction of a societal process, as "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities". This definition also includes institutional settings influencing decision processes and policy outcomes. In this approach, the ways of knowing are always historically, culturally and socially specific ways of knowing that are embedded or situated in contexts that are themselves historically and culturally specific and not "natural" (Hajer, 1995). This conceptualization is central for the whole process of public policy and the construction of who is the affected of such policy.

The existing representative apparatus that attempt to invigorate democracy are limited to the dominance of discourses. Feminist critiques have been pioneer in demanding greater representation and as Judith Butler explains, women can only be effectively represented politically when the dominant masculine discourse allows women to be represented. (2004) Dominance of discourses will pave the way to recognition of certain interests as legitimate interests and some individuals as legitimate democratic participants. As an illustration, the case of immigrants in Denmark is relevant. Immigrants can vote in local elections but are not allowed to vote at national elections. This shows that migrants are not recognized as full democratic citizens at election times. Therefore, a discourse that recognizes migrants as full citizens would have to dominate to change this perspective of inclusion in elections. It took Martin Luther King to advocate and campaign for the inclusion of blacks in the United States. Only then, blacks could be recognized.

Institutional designs influence the ability to become included in a decision-making process. Contemporary governance arrangements can be seen as meaning-making and meaning-shaping mechanisms where new meanings can surge. However, these governance arrangements functions in a embedded set of rules and norms. Institutional design refers to the whole set of "normative vessels" (March & Olsen, 1989) that carry values, norms, beliefs and knowledge.

Escaping the institutional paradoxes of recognition is difficult. There are fights to combat exclusions however, their successes leave something to be desired. The citizenship model has paradoxes. In a democracy, as Taylor (2005) explains, a citizen has to be recognized as a democratic citizen with full rights and democratic capacities as the next democratic citizen. James Tully (2005) explains well that citizens are not citizen in virtue of rights and duties, rather, "they also require their identity as citizens- a form of self-awareness and self-formation- in virtue of exercising these rights: of participating in democratic constitutional institutions and, more importantly, participating in the array of practices of deliberation over the existing institutions".

This process of "citizenization", for Tully (2005), is key to create a kind of solidarity in democracies in the face of diversity and negotiation. It is difficult, though, to understand how self-awareness and self-transformation can happen *a priori* to recognition from other citizens. This would be denying the exclusionary patterns such as institutionalized racism, gender inequalities and imperialist legacies that tie many societies. "A given territory does not unqualifiedly belong to the people born in it" (Taylor, 1998). Exclusion is a debate of domination, not only as a dichotomy of inclusion. Societies create "inner exclusions" based on historic pathways of perceptions, categorization of peoples and perceptions of citizen alienation.

The capacity of acting and staging plays a large role in the capacity of being recognized as a legitimate claim-maker. Actors need ability to "set" and "stage" to be qualified (Hajer, 2005). An example is to include a refugee of a specific city to participate as the refugee representative in an integration policy planning governance arena. This necessity for refugee representation is merely a consequence of the shared view of the actors member that refugee involvement is necessary for legitimate and effective policy-making. This refugee representation, however, can have different implications depending on the common shared norms and values. In some cases, the refugee representative should be a refugee him or herself to ensure "substantive" representation, whereas in other cases, a refugee representative can be an individual that has had the experience of the refugee. These differences in representative legitimacy are products of the specific policies that are embedded in specific institutional designs and the staging capabilities of the one who claims to represent.

Within contemporary governance, representation does not come solely from expected institutional arrangements; rather, new representational capacities surge and need to be filled**.** There are 2 different set of tools that scholars have explored, that are valuable unless recognized, that furnish the potential of inclusion: resources and skills.

Resource endowment can produce processes of inclusion and exclusion in contemporary governance. Some theorists underline the importance of social, cultural, human, symbolic and political and even aesthetic capital. These resources are valuable resources, but are non-existent until recognized as resources. For instance, social capital millionaires, might be outstanding bowlers, chess champions or devout volunteers at the community, however, if the individual cannot exchange this capital into "good deliberator" skills, he might not be recognized as social capital rich. Recognition, therefore, is the fuel that starts the legitimacy engine.

Negotiating skills are also vital for inclusion in participatory governance. Exclusion on racial and ethno-linguistic lines has been real in some democracies. Mills (1997) claimed that it was not the "social contract", but the "racial contract" of many societies that made exclusion possible and everlasting. Physical appearances are also part of communication. Sight is part of communication and denying that some people have been accustomed to noticing dress codes, ethnic origins, race and dress codes is raw and unrealistic. "Lookism" and the ethics of "aesthetics" have become an important issue in anti-discrimination campaigns (Tietje and Cresap, 2005). Therefore, the case of these contemporary modes of governing is particularly important due to the danger of a hierarchical stratification of actors and the continuity of such inherent modes of exclusion of previous traditional institutions. These modes of governing in turn should underpin capability for negotiation and collaboration and let go of past modes of exclusion.

The collaborative dialogue that takes place within contemporary governance modes tend to be more successful if the representative knows the "rules of the game." Scharpf (1997) claims it is often that ethnic and cultural values and a negotiation style of policy making do not go along very

well and the character of ethnic preferences makes negotiations as well as deliberations ill-suited mechanisms. On this note, according to the definition of Sørensen and Torfing (2005), governance networks are a relative stable horizontal articulation of interdependent, but operationally autonomous actors. Therefore, these horizontal interdependencies might have to be constructed in the case of asymmetric interdependencies of actors.

Individuals and representatives can be included or internally excluded (Young, 2000). Wagenaar (2006) claims that "the success or failure of the deliberative process is sensitive to its design…who's in and who's out is a crucial factor in determining the success or failure of collaborative dialogue." However, the physical presence of individuals and representatives in any network, however, does not necessarily lead to fair collaborations. Iris Marion Young (2000) points at Habermas for a naïve understanding of inclusion. Habermas claims that argumentation in deliberations should follow the rational communicative ability (Habermas, 1996). Young claims that internal exclusion could still happen in this case because not everyone knows how to have a rational argument, presenting some solutions to ensure internal inclusion. First of all, she defends the use of narrative and rhetoric in order to achieve internal inclusion. However, there is a danger and a subtle simplicity in asking for narratives and rhetoric rather than rational argumentation. The use of narratives and rhetoric is also dependent on the skill of knowing how to arrange a narrative and construct rhetorics. Young's solutions might be problematic as the Habermasian logic of argumentation through communicative rationality if the employers of narratives fail to have "discursive affinity" (Hajer, 2005).

Since governance arenas that promote involvemement of different sectors cannot solve all problems of inclusion, a combination of patterns of inclusion can be the furthest possible to achieve. Combinations of mechanisms of inclusion such as direct and representative is the best societies can offer.

5. Conclusion

The enhancement of the functioning of representative democracy through inclusion in participatory governance processes puzzles the vital elements of liberal representative democracy. However, instead of taking for granted the positive finale of including stakeholders and the "affected" in decentralized modes of policy-making, understanding how the stakeholder is constructed is the focus of this paper. The interplay of institutional design and governance policy discourses gives light to the nature of the representative claim and how the claim can be used, negotiated, accepted or denied. The investigation of how actors employ these story-lines will give sense to how the claim to represent the affected is constructed and how that fosters inclusion and exclusion.

The empirical case study of highly-politicized governance processes of policy-making would illustrate how inclusion and exclusion take place. Moreover, it would bring to light the patterns of inclusion and exclusion that are replicated within the policy styles and how this is precisely what makes politics.

A way to ensure a democratization process is to allow for participatory governance to take the role as a new space for more problem-oriented representation. However, the problems of direct democracy, representative democracy and group representation prevail in this form of governance. If we take that into account, it is clear that there are still exclusionary dimensions in this form of

governing. Even though this is the best alternative, it is impossible to perfect it since the demarcation of the affected is an ongoing part of the democratic process.

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Article II: Prospects for representation of minority interests in contemporary governance

Introduction

Liberal theorists of democracy have always been occupied with the question of minority interests in democratic processes. Contemporary representative democracies have been often accused of allowing majority rule and inadequately including minority interests, resulting in the marginalization of such interests. New theories and practices of democracy explore new capacities and efforts for the solution of such democratic dilemma. New forms of governance that promote stakeholder participation, attempt to widen the representative arena, surging as a new potential way of amending inadequacies of contemporary democracies. However, these debates fail to address that minority problems are being produced in and out of democratic representative institutions and amplifying the representative arena is not sufficient to remedy the problem of representation of minority interests. This article proposes that the problem of representation of minority interests first requires the understanding of why and how minority interests are produced and second, it requires the understanding of how new forms of governance offer ways to improve the chance for democratic representation of minority interests.

Traditional accounts of democracy envisaged the deficit in the relationship between representative and the 'represented' creating a problem of minority interests. Not only in theory but also in practice, there are gaps between popular sovereignty and contemporary democratic societies. Different efforts trying to solve and improve the representational capacity of contemporary institutions attempt to remedy problems of exclusion of minority interests.

The relative knowledge of the relationship between representation and democracy is at an even more curious position due to the decrease of politicization of political parties, the surge of social movements or civil society, retrenchment of the welfare state in social democracies, New Public Management reform in the public administration or even just the new complexity of society. These changes swap the perceived conventional vertical way of decision-making and introduce a multi-actor horizontal mode of governance of modern democracies. This surpassing of traditional institutions arrangements could serve as a potential widening the *locus* of representation. This potential multiplicity of *loci* of representation fixes more to the debate of the unsettled problem of minority interests in democratic institutions.

Dealing with minority interests is tricky business since institutions of representative democracies are the culprits for producing minority problems. Defining minority is hard enough and many different kinds of minorities are being produced through the system. There are minorities that are recognized by the state but have a hard time being heard example such as indigenous people in Brazil, for example. Others can be considered minorities simply due to their opposition to majority rule. Rare interest owners are often also considered as minorities.

Various scholars discuss these problems related to groups and minority struggles and suggest channels for dealing with such problems that go beyond traditional representative institutions.

Moving away from a prompt judgement of the actor pluralization phenomenon, this article investigates the potentials of the new *loci* of representation in new forms of governance to include minority interests and enhance democratic quality. The concept of representation in contemporary North and Western European democracies, which has never been set on stone, is facing newer challenges since the end of the 20th century. Some scholars have attempted to delineate and circumscribe to a precise possible definition of representation however, other scholars subscribe to the idea of amplifying the concept of representation to new modes of governance. However, few theorists and critics have attempted to understand the quality of representation in new forms of governing that promote the collaboration between government, private and third sector and transcend traditional representative democracy institutions.

This article first section lays the foundation of liberal democracy theories in attempting to maximize representation of interests in democracies. Moreover, this section explains the various efforts to ameliorate the common problem of exclusion of minority interests in contemporary democracies showing how theorists have attempted to solve the deficit for minority representation in traditional liberal theories.

The second section shows how the problem of exclusion of minority interests is produced and offers to question the possibilities of new forms of governance as a space to remedy such exclusions. Post-liberal theories of democracies favor the inclusion of new actors as a means to end the marginalization of interests.

The third section explores changes in traditional democratic policy-making modes that widen the arena of actors and open up possibilities for new representational capacities. Moreover, the section presents the arguments for the possibility of inclusion of the minorities and rarely heard interests into participatory governance, a mode of governing that promotes stakeholder involvement and citizen participation. This horizontal style of policy-making presents potentials to the quality of contemporary democracies .

The fourth section explores representational capacity of new horizontal modes of governing as a way to ameliorate traditional representational deficits. Suggestions show new possibilities to improve chances for democratic representation of minority interests.

The conclusion shows how far democratic theorists are in solving the problem of minority interests and shows what problems are to be resolved. A fresh look into the concept of representation gives new grounds to understanding democratic potentials for minority interests and new prospects for empirical research.

1. Liberal Theories and questions of minority interests in representative structures

Theorists of democracy constantly worry about ensuring that minority interests are not left to the margins. Democracies are ‘the rule of the people’. However, due to efficiency, community size, time and perhaps knowledge, representation of political matters through a representative seem inescapable. Contemporary representative democracies have shown to be imperfect when including interests of all members of the constituencies. Majority rule is almost accepted as

necessary in contemporary democracies however, exclusion of minority interests is sinful. In many parts of the globe, indigenous groups and ethnic minorities struggle for recognition within nations that are commonly seen as democracies. Even under-representation of women is also highly fought against, even in consolidated democracies. Some theorists feared a negative finale of the exclusion of minorities in representative democracies. This common problem of representative democracies is highly contested among scholars.

Philosophers and scholars realized that the trades-off of majority rule and the principles of democracy are a dilemma. John Stuart Mill believed that if majority ruled, the "disenfranchisement of minorities" would occur (Mill 1861). Therefore, according to him, proportional representative system should exist to ensure representation of different views. Robert Dahl (1989) also fears the marginalizing of some interests and values that every citizen within a community should have equal chance to voice his or her interests. On the other hand, French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau argued that if minorities exist, it is due to their failure to realize the public good. According to him, "if there are opponents to the social compact, their opposition does not invalidate the contract, but merely prevents them from being included in it. They are foreigners among citizens" (Rousseau 1762). Alexis de Tocqueville also argued that in large democracies, there has been some idea that the majority has a right and a moral authority to govern (Tocqueville 1832). Denying the right of majority to rule is not necessary in order to recognize that minorities have the right to be heard and re-enfranchised in democratic societies.

Representative democracy surges as a democracy that relies on majority rule, however, not without attempts to represent most of society. Supporters of representative democracy debate how representation can be most democratic supporting all-inclusive representative arenas. Representation theorists argue over the proximity of the relationship between the representative and the represented, varying from a far to a very close relationship. Does the precise duty of the representative lies in the quest for the idyllic correspondence between both his/her acts and the will of the represented? How can citizens be represented? Who should represent the people if the people are not present? How can the representative act on behalf of the people? How can all voices within the demos be heard? These old puzzles are present in the discussions of political representation that is a core concept to contemporary democracies.

Representation, as a practice and concept, is not new. Representation of individuals traces back to the Middle Age during the times where representatives of specific interests carried the duty to meet the King (Pitkin 1967). These representations were probably problematic, however, the instructions on the act or "the mandate" were clearly stated and the contract-breaking came with high punishment. Therefore, this manner of representing an individual or private instance is less complicated than political representation in modern representative democracies, where the lack of a clear contract leads to a duality between the duty of the representatives and the will of the represented. However, modern democracies search for the right type of representation for the democratic recipe.

Liberal democracy theorists and philosophers have debated the concept of representation and the correspondence between the representative and the 'represented' in traditional democratic institutions. Some thinkers claim that the representative should not and cannot be bound to a mandate from its constituents, maintaining a distance from the views of whom they represent. Edmund Burke confirms that in a liberal democracy, parliamentary representatives should act according to their judgment, not according to the views of who they represent (Burke 1774-8).

He also argues that parliament should be a mirror image of the feelings within the nation. Burke viewed representatives as knowledgeable and capable of taking decent decisions for the represented. This removed connection between the representative and the represented as Burke suggests, led philosophers to ponder on the possibility of bad judgement of the representative.

Mill was skeptical and expected problems could arise when allowing representative to act for the represented and he had a different view on representation that inserts checks and balances as key to ensure that the representative would not act solely according to his or her interests. This norm of accountability ensures that the representative is more attentive to the will of the represented (Mill 1819). The representative should be accountable and subject to removal of the office at the end of the term, bind him/her to act according to the interests of the represented. This principle of accountability is still fundamental for modern democracies.

Other thinkers argue for a direct bringing of ideas up to the representational arena. The principle of accountability, despite tying the represented to the representative does not necessarily cope with the problem of under-representation of certain interests in societies. Therefore, John Stuart Mill, in contrary to Burke, argues for proportional representation in parliaments. He believes parliaments should be descriptive of different views of society but differ in approaches to include difference. John Stuart Mill, claim that governments should have proportional representation of their societies and parliaments should be `descriptive` of the different views within society (Mill 1861).

American political scientist Anna Pitkin, in her 1967 book 'The Concept of Representation', synthesized the different views on the problematic concept of representation. She explained that accountability theorists such as Mill overemphasized elections and underemphasized the obligations of the representatives. Pitkin also criticizes Thomas Hobbes. For Hobbes in the Leviathan (1651), representation is to authorize others in a contract binding manner. Hobbes claims that authorization happens in a world of rational individuals that endeavor peace. He claims individuals act peacefully whenever they can, making a contract if possible (Pitkin 1972). Pitkin criticizes Thomas Hobbes for his placing all the rights at the representative disposal and the burdens on the represented. Pitkin argues for more than mere accountability or formal authorization, claiming that representatives should also be responsive for the represented.

Pitkin concentrated on the structural delimitations of the modern electoral mechanisms. An assumption in the debate about representative democracies in North and Western Europe lies in the assumption that government should not manipulate the people. While some thinkers value accountability, others value formal authorization. Pitkin, however, believes that governments should be responsive to public opinion. Therefore, she values responsiveness as a key factor in a representation realizing the dilemmas that institutional arrangements (such as parliaments), representatives and the represented. The representation dilemma is nothing but an attempt to create the ideal balance of accountability, responsiveness, legitimacy and responsiveness (Pitkin 1967). For her, representatives should 'act for' (i.e. substantive representation) for the represented, rather than 'standing for' (i.e. descriptive representation) the represented. Although the debate travels around many views of political representation, Manin claims that the debate ends at the equivalence between will of represented and action of the representative (Manin 1995).

All these debates are not enough to guarantee that extinction of minority problems within contemporary democracies, inspiring theorists and practitioners to contemplate, consider and create various efforts to solve such dilemma.

2. Attempts to solve minority problems

Political representation is not only complicated due to the problematic relationship of the representative and the represented, but mainly because it culminates in exclusions of some voices within societies. Modern representative bodies in North and Western Europe have lamentably excluded interests of certain individuals and groups due to less than all-inclusive representational arenas in the electoral systems. The possibility for amendment of representative institutions and solving the problem of minority interests vary according to scholars and many of these debates attempt to ensure a 'better and deeper'representation.

The amendment of the representation deficit can happen through the inclusion of different representatives that share physical identities with the represented. The emphasis on the correspondence between ideas of the representative and the 'represented' failed to give reference to the identity of the representatives, inspiring Anne Philips (1995) to advocate for the physical inclusion of excluded groups in the decision-making process. In the book Politics of Presence, she highlights that representation in modern liberal democracies have marginalized and oppressed some groups with minority interests. According to Phillips, minorities can have representatives who not only defend their interests, but also, through personal identification, develop a sense of identification and feeling of being present (Phillips 1995). She argues for the inclusion of such groups taking place outside modern institutional arrangements.

Among these scholars that support the linkage between the identity of the represented and representative, are the feminist and multiculturalist theories. Feminist arguments have emphasized that including women as political representatives is necessary to remedy exclusion of their interests (Marques-Pereira and Siim 2001). Minority inclusion arguments have also claimed that minorities were not present as political representatives, leading to their marginalization and oppression. Anne Phillips (1995) argues advocates for possibilities of substantive group representation as a mechanism to allow for individuals to have equal access to political elites. Canadian political philosopher Will Kymlicka (1995) in his multiculturalism debates has widely supported that identity representation will bring in marginalized interests into the political process.

Other supporters of remedying representative institutions do not value identity, but rather, group opinions and eclectic views, independent of the identity of the representatives. Observing the same interests marginalization as Anne Phillips, Iris Marion Young also conveys her concerns about the exclusion in our representative democracies. Certain groups, according to Young seem to be represented but are not. Social groups that are minorities face challenges. She argues for representation of groups, for example, blacks and lesbians, rather than an individual inclusion based on identity such as Anne Phillips claimed. Rather than a proportional representational system, Young argues for an inclusion of interests, experiences and perspectives. Instead of *Politics of Presence* (Phillips 1995), Young advocates for *Politics of Difference* (Young 1990). This emphasis on inclusion of oppressed groups builds on

arguments for inclusion of marginalized interests assuming that marginalized groups can and will be represented.

Many democracies have implemented several strategies focus on advocating for descriptive representation as an attempt to remedy exclusion of certain interests due to less-than-all inclusive electoral mechanisms. To illustrate this point, one can see that Norway has included gender quotas in political party membership as a "mandate of difference" (Skjeie, 1992) Other states, have included minority quotas in work places, schools as a way to amend previous exclusion of minority interests. In the global arena, international organizations also adopt and promote such quotas as a strategy for diminishing minority problems. This focus on descriptive representation assumes that representatives have not fully reflected interests of certain groups therefore, binding measures such as quotas are attempts to correct the problem of under-representation. Despite that majority rule is accepted through representative democracies, minority exclusion is feared.

3. New forms of governance as potential and new perspectives on minority problems

A new form of governing that promotes public policy-making through stakeholder involvement point out to new ways of dealing with the issue of minorities in democratic societies. Specially in the case of tackling "wicked" problems, governments have created interactive modes of governing as a way to facilitate effectiveness of policy implementation and enhance democratic performance. These participatory governance arrangements involve public authorities, third sector organizations and local citizens to take part in the decision-making processes. This new space for decision-making brings hope and fear as a potential space for remedying insufficiencies of contemporary democracies.

Optimists within the post-liberal democracy theorists argue for a wider arena for participation to invigorate democracy. The inclusion of civil society and citizen participation, according to the theorists, are key to democratic arrangements that aim to include and deepen democracy, allowing for a possible re-enfranchisement of minorities. The theories of *deepening democracy* and empowered participation of Fung and Wright (2003) and even more, the ideas of communicative action of Habermas (1981) claim that the involvement of new actors in the decision-making processes allow individuals, organizations and private actors to have a voice in the public decisions or in deliberations and negotiations. Standing on the same optimist camp, Warren (2001) claims that organizations nourish "the capacities of individuals to participate in collective judgment and decision making, and to develop autonomous judgments that reflect their considered wants and beliefs" (Warren 2001).

Besides wider participatory arenas and consultation processes that attempt to be inclusive, new researchers ponder upon the democratic potentials of this form of governance. Scholars who follow the traditional liberal theories of democracy argue that such mode of governing could have a democratic deficit and promote elitism (Rhodes 1997). However, theorists of post-liberal democracies argue that governance networks increase democratic outcome as more actors are involved in the exercise of public governance. Sørensen and Torfing (2005) claim this mode of governing can enhance democratic legitimacy, facilitating participation and influencing the output side of policy (Skelcher et al. 2004, Sørensen & Torfing 2005).

Public participation is a common pillar of participatory governance. As Barnes et al. (2003) argue, in practice, an important focus of citizen involvement within governance processes is the active involvement of people from minority groups such as ethnic groups, older people, youth or others. Minority groups therefore, can be minority in terms of race or ethnicity or minority in terms of marginalized interests. However, noting that governance arenas are spaces for involvement of minorities is important.

Public authorities, service providers, public managers and citizens participate in decision-making processes suggesting a new space for remedying the problems of minority interests. Since public policy-making appears open for the involvement of new actors, some scholars are positive about the potential for involvement of minorities in this form of governance.

4. The production of minority problems

These innovative democratic thinkers are optimistic about broadening the representational capacity through interactive modes of governing however, they have not discussed in depth why minorities are produced in the first place. Many different possible solutions have been theorized as post-liberal democratic ideas in order to amend these underrepresented minority interests arena. These amendments focus on representation according to specific identities, wider arena for group representation, participatory programs and many other different possibilities for inclusion of representation of minority interests. However, before studying democratic capacities of new modes of governing, questioning why and how minority interests are produced is necessary. Minorities in terms of ethnicity, sexuality, age, gender, race, interests, perspectives are the "usual suspects" for marginalization and exclusion in traditional representative democracies but how these become accepted as minorities is a complicated process.

Political alienation is often seen as a symptom of maladies of democracies that produces minority problems. At core of representative democracies lies that citizenries possess certain "democratic" orientations in order to ensure systemic stability (Almond and Verba 1965). A threat to this stability is political alienation, a term that refers to the individual discontent or disconnect from the political process (Citrin et al., 1975), "a social condition in which the citizens have or feel minimal connection with the exercise of political power" (Reef and Knobe, 1999). Political alienation comprises various dimensions such as powerlessness, civicness and others. In this case, political alienation is on an individual basis, meaning individuals can be marginalized minorities and through participation can find their connection to the political processes.

Other minority problems spring from disempowerment. Ignoring that some groups do not consist of empowered members is naïve. Here exactly lies the problem of grouping the perceived-to-be marginalized interests. If a group has similar interests that have become minority or marginalized, reaching these interests requires empowerment from group member to bring these interests to front. This is even more complicated if group members do not share interests. For example, it is common that organizations take on the responsibility for speaking for disempowered groups that do not have individuals to do so.

Another way of understanding minorities is to single out minority interests from individual. Minority interests can live within an individual that has access to political life. Minorities then, are not individual nor group related, but rather interests, here and there. Some minority problems are not even known. Many individuals have not fully questioned how they feel about animal farming, however, if asked about it, they might formulate an interest, an opinion that was not prior existent as an interest.

Theorists also take into account the intersectionality of minority interests. Intersectionality of social class, with gender, ethnicity, social perspectives, race is a concept that tries to encompass how these categories intertwine. This concept spread out of black feminism and shows exactly how the intertwining of categories make it difficult to understand minorioty problems. As Knudssen shows, intersectionality looks at minority culture rather than majority culture. "The concept can be a useful analytical tool in tracing how certain people seem to get positioned as not only different but also troublesome and, in some instances, marginalized (Staunæs, 2003a, 101)".

Minority problems can also be a mere consequence of lack of recognition. Some interests are simply excluded because they differ from majority interests. Charles Taylor (2004) explains that individuals need to be recognized as equal citizens in order to take place in democratic life. In the case of identity or interest minority groups, recognition is necessary if they are to equally participate in the political processes. This shows that society can be the culprit of impeding minorities to have full access to the democratic system.

The democratic community itself can be its worst enemy to its minorities. Representation of individuals or groups depends not only on the *Politics of Presence* and *Politics of Difference*, but also on what Canadian philosopher Charles (2004)calls *Politics of Recognition*. Taylor claims democratic societies are now multicultural and problem can surge if the models of democracy favors specific cultural, sexual and gender perspectives. The problem of minority group representation lies in the question of "Politics of Recognition" because in order to achieve authentic liberal democracy all citizens deserve recognization as part of the polity to avoid falling into the "Dynamics of Democratic Exclusion" (Taylor 2004). This recognition also calls for patriotism as a way to recognize all individuals in the democratic community as citizens. In this case, representation is not only the relationship between the representative and the represented, but it also reveals that representation of individual or group interests could be impossible if these individuals or groups are not recognized as democratic citizens.

Minorities are being produced through designs that either exclude them or that create them as minorities. At times, minorities do not even exist until created. Dryzek (2008) and Saward (2009) use Bono Vox from U2 as an example of a voice being created for the African marginalized interests. The singer makes claims about marginalized Africans. The marginalized interests of the African peoples are being spoken but not by the African people themselves. This case shows the possibility of claiming, creating minority interests as painting them as suffering marginalization.

The production of minority problems in contemporary democracies happens through different channels or mechanisms. Minority problems can be spring out of political alienation, disempowerment, lack of recognition, or blaming the institutions more, minority problems are a reflexion of societal acceptance of majority rule. However, these minority issues are minority because they are constructed as such. Some minority interests, for example, are simply unacceptable for contemporary democracies and these interests are at the margin guiltlessly.

5. Governance as a space for democratic representation

There are many ways of attempting to remedy the democratic deficit through the inclusion of marginalized interests through representation. This has been seen not only in theories, but also in practice. Therefore, post-liberal democracies are stepping closer to this achievement of the re-enfranchisement of minorities. A possibility to represent excluded interests in democracies is to focus on the representation of the affected group depending on the issue at stake. The assurance of substantive representation of marginalized interests can be reached through different institutional arrangements that widen the representational capacities and celebrate eclectic views and interests. Participatory governance offers a space for such democratic representation of marginalized and minority interests.

The new plethora of actors brings new dilemmas to the challenges of representation. Does this mode of governing bring more or less representational capacity to the traditional institutions? Is the new representational arena problematic even though representation at the traditional institutions was never ideal and there was never on a basic definition of representation? What can democratic representation look like in this arena?

Without the monopoly of politics, representation could become multi-faceted, controversial and competitive. Private, public and civil society actors are collaborating in horizontal ways; therefore, the old ways of understanding representation might be insufficient. According to Abal (1996), the relationship between the representative and the represented has always been a mere metaphor due the notable efficiency in the generation of political legitimacy. However, this metaphor is not enough to legitimatize representatives in a plethora of actors. Nonetheless, this paper does not either suggest or discuss a post-representative solution. On the contrary, the paper is an invitation to the rethinking of the capacity for minority interests in the arena of a diverse range of actors involved in decision-making.

The demands for accountability, transparency, responsiveness and legitimacy still hold importance in the new forms of interactive governance. However, the debates over this phenomenon of involvement of new actors tend to exclude the claims for legitimate acts of representation. These new involved actors are not more than mere representatives. Few scholars have correlated this emergence of new actors with representation in any attempt to reconceptualise representation. New forms of representation will not lead to new influence, unless representativeness and representation is correspondent and responsive to the represented. The prospect for inclusion of minority interests values responsiveness, accountability through substantive, and possibly not necessarily descriptive, representation.

Little research has focused on the representational capacities of actors outside the traditional representative democracies due to the difficulty of molding the concept to fit the new actors. To investigate opportunities for the democratic enhancement of modern representative democracies, this paper discusses a different question: What happens to the previously marginalized interests in this new representational arena? Since the stage is open for more actors in the new governance environment, this can be a prospect for the inclusion of "new actors" and "new representatives". This process can be a window of opportunity for the "affected" that are usually excluded from decision-making processes in the traditional forms of representative democracy.

The deliberative arena of the new decentralized modes of governing could have room to improve chances for democratic representation of marginalized interests. The theories of *deepening democracy* and empowered participation of Fung and Wright (2003) and even more, the ideas of deliberative democracy of Habermas (1981) have been optimistic about institutional innovations that promote horizontal ways of governing. These post-liberal democracy theorists call for the inclusion of the marginalized interests in deliberations and negotiations between different actors of society. Both theories of deepening democracy of Fung and Wright (2003) and the theory of communicative action Habermas (1981) lay normative value to communication. In both theories, individual or group empowerment is a central concept that is very much linked to participation. Moreover, these theories assume that representatives of interests in deliberations are substantive representatives.

Extra measurements to include minority interests in modern representative democracies have included representatives of these interests at various levels of government. Most of the studies on the involvement of migrant interests in network forms of governance have concentrated on the descriptive representation, for example, the study of ethnic minorities in neighborhood councils in Los Angeles (Musso et al. 2006). The commonality of these representatives is their descriptive similarity to the representatives. These inclusions of minority groups imply that states value descriptive representation. In descriptive representation, the representative 'stands for' the represented but not necessarily 'acts for' them. Therefore, representatives might have to have certain characteristics to ensure substantive representation. However, the new question lies on who can claim to represent minorities in this new mode of horizontal policy-making.

The representational capacity for minority interests in participatory governance lies n the capability of the representative to bring the interests to the negotiations with other actors. In order for this representative to be responsive and accountable to the ones he or she claim to represent, consultation is essential. Sørensen & Torfing (2005) explain well that propose a democratic anchorage model in which, representatives should be 'accountable to the territorially defined citizenry; and follow the democratic rules specified by a particular grammar of conduct' (2005, p. 201). Moreover, other actors in the arena of deliberation need to recognize the representative as a legitimate representative of the represented group.

In the case of a representative that 'acts for' the minorities (i.e. substantive representation), stepping into the deliberative arena, however, gives the minority representative the chance to be heard. Unless the point of deliberation is to form a homogeneous arena, participating in the deliberative arena and being heard creates positive outcomes in post-liberal democracies. Therefore, the migrant representative should be open for deliberations and support negotiations to influence change so minorities stop being minorities.

The capability of representing minority groups outside traditional representative institutions is also very much linked to empowerment. If deliberations are the grounds for the representative of the marginalized interests, this representative should be an empowered to even participate in the deliberations. Empowered individual to stand up in the deliberative arena to voice the groups' interests. Therefore, for the interests to come out of the margin, the representative should be an empowered representative member of the group. In the way post-liberal democracy theorists understand empowerment, deliberative arenas, can empower, as Fung & Wright (2003) claim, these arenas (and the authors), however, invite empowered representatives that are self-reliant and equipped with tools and will to make a change.

The deliberative arena appears to call for empowered players that know the "rules of the game" (Rhodes 1997). Unless, descriptive representation cedes to be an option and substantive representation can come from any empowered actor that is willing to represent marginalized interests, or migrants' interests in this cases. Therefore, the minority representative should be either an empowered member to even participate or an empowered outsider.

In the case of including minority organizations representatives, dilemmas rise. Some scholars are more pessimistic of including new actors in the decision-making processes. Przeworski (2002) argued that non-governmental organizations represent particular interests that are not subject of control and tend to reproduce inequality of access to the political system. Flyvbjerg (1996) is also pessimist and reiterates Keane's point that civil society is a masculine concept. Keane believes that civil society was created on the basis of dominance of the white male in an era where women were home living under male despotism (Keane 1988). Flyvbjerg (1996) agrees with this concept and further explains the present societies as societies that build on exclusion of gender, ethnicity and sexuality. These pessimistic understanding of the early civil society does not necessarily reveal reality of civil society after the decentralization of power. This is not to agree or disagree with the underestimation of early civil society, rather, it brings to light the potentials disadvantages for including present civil societies. Therefore, the migrant representative needs to have consulted the group he or she claims to represent and must have a free and open organization that aims for substantive representation of the members.

An important factor of these categories is the commonality of "internal exclusion" from society, as Young (2000) explains. However, to be internally excluded, one ought to be internal, i.e. inside the democratic community. The internal exclusion refers to the physical presence of the individual (or group) and to its exclusion of interests. The problem then arises if physical presence refers to citizens. If the ones who exclude do not recognize one as an insider or a democratic citizen, the individual can be physically present but he/she will not be included. Besides issues of recognition, often religious orientations of men and women are perceived to be linked to their political culture or their democratic orientation. For a representative of migrants to raise and participate in this new mode of governing, tolerance of differences in political cultures and democratic orientations is vital. Migrants in Europe have come from different systems that celebrated diverse values. Therefore, deliberative arena should not have rigid norms that cannot be reinvented and rethought throughout the negotiation processes.

The representative should not only to be empowered to participate and create substantive representation, but also needs to reflect back on the represented the sense of autonomy of their interests and ownership to interests, unless, representation can lead to be totalitarianism and authority. Especially in the case of individuals who are not accustomed to pooling interests with diverse groups. Therefore, recognition of autonomy as Parekh (2000) would call it, is very relevant in order to bring in the representative of migrants interests to the deliberation arena of network governance.

6. Unresolved problems

For example, if the affected have a representative, it automatically creates an outsider group of non-affected. Therefore, the attempt to remedy the democratic deficit through opening the policy-making ground for the "affected" could unintentionally create outsiders. In the case of

including a representative of migrants interests, for example, as one interest group, could be seen as an exclusion of others that have the same interests or could be an exclusion of others that are also affected by migrant policy-making.

Representatives might claim to represent a specific group, constructing the represented group (Saward 2006b). Confirming that the group deserves the "minority group" label is a difficult task. Young, who is an advocate for group representation, claims that 'once we are clear that the principle of group representation refers only to the oppressed social groups, then the fear of an unworkable proliferation of group representation should dissipate' (Young 1990). However, Kymlicka (1995) observed that Young's list of oppressed groups would encompass 80% of the American population in 1995. Many individuals feel disadvantaged at some point. Drawing the line between the disadvantaged and advantaged is risky and the same difficulty is present in drawing the line between the marginalized and the core, the oppressed and the liberated. In the case of the group creations or group recognition, the problem persists. Grouping interest or identity minorities can be difficult since the group is very diverse. In the case of an identity representative, it might be that the representative claims to substantively represent the group creating an imaginary common interest group too.

New horizontal modes of governing can be the prospect for representation of minority interests if a methodology to study this empirically offer the possibility. Karen Bird (2003) argues that studies have been able to show how women, when participating, represent women's interests, such as gender mainstreaming or at least putting gender issues on the agenda. However, she argues that the same studies are very difficult to do in the case of minority issues. It is hard to see how descriptive representation influences policy-making.

Many minorities will always be minorities because they are tied to legislation. Due to such difficulty to agree on a concept of representation, the assessment of the functioning of democracy is an empirical question with a minimal normative take on the will of the represented as a remedy to previous exclusion of interests. In a post-liberal democracy universe, the concept of representation does not cease to be an imperfect issue but these new modes of governing can be the improvement this less-than-perfect concept.

7. Conclusion

Liberal theories of democracy have always been occupied with the question of how to ensure minority interests in democratic processes. Representative democracies often rely on majority rule causing problems of minority problems. Scholars and practitioners suggest different efforts to solve this dilemma. New forms of governance point out new ways of dealing with the issue. A new obstacle in the disputed debate over the most inclusive concept of representation surges as government takes new shape. Since the stage is open for more actors in the new governance environment, this can be a prospect for the inclusion of "new actors" and "new representatives". The pluralization of actors can be a window of opportunity for the "affected" that are usually excluded from decision-making processes in the traditional forms of representative democracy.

Post-liberal democracy theorists are optimistic about the inclusion of new actors in decision-making process. However, understanding how minority interests are produced is crucial. Institutions of representative democracy produce minority interests, not only because of

majority rule, but also due to political alienation, disempowerment and lack of recognition. These contributors to the creation of minority and marginalized interests are also a product of society's makings. Democratic societies and their institutions can be the culprits of the creation of minority problems or the non-acceptance of their inclusion.

Empowered participatory governance offers ways to improve the chances for democratic representation of minority interests. However, it is still important to keep in mind that many of the minority problems are unfixable through the bringing in of representatives of minorities since it is exactly what society is missing: the minority voice. The pluralization of actors in decision-making processes can promote minority inclusion in the case of substantive representation. However, the substantive representative comes from an empowered representative knows the rules of the game inside the deliberative arenas. A possible way to include more representatives of minority interests in the new horizontal forms of governing is to find other arenas to empower individuals outside the arenas of decision-making and equip them with tools to come into the negotiations.

Many problems remain unsolved in the study of minority interests. Empirically, scholars have found difficult to trace the impact of representatives from minority groups into the participatory governance arenas. . Deliberations would require adjustable norms and values that celebrate various democratic styles to overcome inequalities and marginalizations in contemporary societies. Otherwise, the new pluralization of actors will become elitist, as Rhodes (1997) had feared. Therefore, the arrangements of governance arenas of policy-making are key to the development of prospects for representation of minority interests.

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Article III: Negotiating representative claims in local participatory governance

Abstract

Community involvement in local participatory governance can be seen as a prospect or a threat to representative democratic institutions. Scholars and practitioners debate how stakeholders can adequately and substantively represent interests and constituencies however, these debates under stress that representation is an act of making claims to represent. Actors make representative claims, or have claims made upon them, to participate in these governance processes. This article proposes that before evaluating the democratic capacity of participatory governance, it is vital to understand how representative claims are recognized and negotiated, not only by constituencies, but more importantly by other governance actors. Drawing on cases of local representatives in local participatory governance in Birmingham and Copenhagen, this article shows that representative claim-making is a process through which political struggles are enacted.

Introduction

Local participatory governance where public authorities, private, third sector and citizens can influence the input and output side of policy are becoming widespread in European cities. Stakeholder involvement and collaboration between sectors at various stages of policy processes characterize this mode of governing. While there are various ways of describing these new modes of governing, the term "participatory governance" emphasises the participative characteristic between sectors. Scholars debate not only the effectiveness and efficiency of these processes, but also their democratic quality and if this apparent broadening of the representative arena can actually invigorate democracy. Whereas stakeholder involvement gives some scholars and practitioners the hope of a wider representative arena within liberal democracies, it gives others the fear of corrosion of traditional representative institutions. However, traditional understandings of the multifaceted concept of political representation do not suffice to understand what goes on in representation, specifically outside traditional institutions.

Representation is crucial to any account of democracy. Traditional understandings of representation focus on the link between the representative and what they claim to represent and often normatively considered in terms of democratic legitimacy. The discussions over this link entail how to make accountability possible, responsiveness enduring and transparency ubiquitous. However, as Michael Saward (2006) explains, political representation goes beyond these perspectives. Representation is a dynamic performative process of claim-making where subjects make claims about objects. Representative claims are contingent and contestable. Actors make claims, or have claims made upon them, verbally or non-verbally, and claims have to be recognized by the audiences in which they are made. Representation is a process of claim-making in which audience recognition is the fuel that allows it to come into being.

This article critically examines how representative claims are made and recognized within governance processes. Michael Saward's concept of representative claims combined with rules of recognition are at the core of the analysis since this combination allows for an understanding of the performative aspect of representation and not only its institutional instance. Skeptics of contemporary governance have emphasized the problems related to the democratic quality of such networks (Bogason, 2006, p. 2, Esmark 2007, Skelcher *et al.* 2005), however it is necessary to readjust our understanding of representation to incorporate its performative aspect, that lies outside democratic norms. Comprehending how representative claims are made is vital to understanding representation and vital before diving into any normative account.

The empirical work shows how claims to represent citizens and the community come into being. Semi-structured interviews and non-participant observations with policy actors participating in local governance networks in neighborhoods in 2 European cities, Birmingham and Copenhagen, from November 2007 until August 2009 comprise the empirical material. When studying governance, a qualitative study is appropriate due to the fractured political power in the environment (Flyvbjerg 2006, Hajer and Wagenaar 2003).

This article first introduces how representation is central to understanding democracy within participatory governance , drawing attention to the process of construction of 'what' and 'who' is to be represented. The second section explores the concepts of representation through representative claim-making underlining the importance of audience recognition. The third and fourth section present the empirical cases and shows how local people and citizen and community representative claims are made, recognized and negotiated within participatory governance. This exploratory research does not prescribe remedies to problems of representation, it rather shows the lens through which one can understand what goes on in representation.

1. Governance and representation

The democratic potential of participatory modes of governance is a subject of debate amongst scholars. Some scholars are optimist about their democratic capacity, whereas others fear their detrimental potentials. When being tested on democratic quality, this form of governing is often judged on equality, accountability, publicity, equity and coordination with representative institutions (Bogason *et al.* 2004, Sørensen and Torfing 2005, Hansen and Sørensen 2004, Nyholm and Haveri, 2009). Scholars inspired by the 'deliberative turn' (Dryzek 2000) in policy-making are concerned with the democratic quality of the deliberations and negotiations, vitalizing the importance of public contestation for a robust democracy. However, since these modes of governing do not involve all, representatives are involved to represent those who are not present, with the justification that there are ties of accountability and authorization between the representatives and those they represent. (Parkinson 2004) Instances of representation can be an NGO voicing interests, elected politicians speaking for their constituency or even a citizen representing herself in an open public meeting. These instances rest on the quest and hope of 'good' representation. However, political representation transcends these instances that demand normative criteria of accountability, authorization and substantive representation. This mode of governing involves an array of actors, elected and non-elected, who claim to be representatives when participating in decision-making processes. A critical point before any evaluation of democracy is to comprehend claims made to speak for others and/or stand in for others.

The optimists of the democratic vigour of participatory governance argue this form of governing can enhance the representative arena in society. As Sørensen (2005) explains, governance networks can be democratically anchored if the affected by the policies are represented in the decision-making processes. According to her and Jacob Torfing (2005), governance networks are democratically anchored if they have "the ability to ensure some level of political control, representation, public contestation and normative regulation of governance networks". For many authors, public contestation and the inclusion of the affected is vital to the democratic quality of governance. Scharpf (1999 in Hendriks 2008) argues a democracy has input legitimacy if it includes and reflects the 'will of the people'.

More reluctant scholars ponder on the issue of representation in democratic governance. March and Olsen (1995) argue that these decision-making processes could be a threat to sovereign position of elected government. For liberal democratic theorists, where equal rights are at the core of citizenry, contemporary governance can challenge representative democracy since there is unequal access to decision-making processes. For others such as Rhodes, this 'democracy of the affected' can instead lead to elitism, doing more excluding than including (Rhodes 1997). These scholars are sceptics of the potential of participatory governance to reconciliate with representative institutions. Both optimists and pessimists have 'good representation' as a measuring stick of democratic quality of contemporary governance processes. Whereas some argue representation should be left to certain institutional arrangements, others argue for different arrangements however, it is important to highlight that normative representation is implicit in any of these arrangements.

Representation theorists have long reflected on the predicaments of representation. Hanna Pitkin and her well-read Concept of Representation, is only the start of a serious of treatments of the concept of representation. After Pitkin's definition of representation as making present again (1967) and her focus on representation as an interrelationship between a principal and an agent, empirical researchers were left with an understandings of representation that concentrates on the link between the representative and the represented. Scholars and practitioners who have embarked on the quest for 'good representation' have focused on legitimate representation (Beetham 1991). Feminism and multiculturalism influenced authors such as Phillips (1995), Williams (2000) and Young (2000) who stress the difficulties around representation of women, minority and indigenous groups favouring adjustments on institutional arrangements to amend representational dilemmas. Moreover, Young (2000) recommends deliberative arenas that are open to allow marginalized and oppressed groups to voice their interests. Multiculturalism influenced Kymlicka (2002) who also focuses on institutional design to ameliorate dilemmas of representation. Others have argued for the importance of not only substantive representation, but also symbolic representation (Daloz 2003). It is crucial to highlight that these discrepancies between accounts of representation are results of discussions of the relationship between representative and the ones he or she claims to represent, rather than discussions over the nature of representation itself.

The dilemmas of representation have to be re-exposed when analyzing the democratic quality of governance. To regard governance processes that take place outside traditional representative institutions as a means to include interests that have been excluded, or amend previous exclusions of traditional local representative institutions, one needs to unpack the impasses of representation and the dynamics of the process of becoming a stakeholder. Within contemporary governance, an array of actors, elected and non-elected, claim to be representatives (or have claims

made upon them). Why are some representatives good and others illegitimate? Why can some representatives speak for a group but others cannot?

The unequal possibility of access to governance processes suggests that claims that stakeholders make are vital to gaining entry. Representatives need to be recognized to be involved in decision-making arenas. Debating representation within participatory governance is fruitful, however, 'what' and 'who' and 'by whom' is to be represented and is a process constructed within the governance sphere on a case by case basis. Understanding this construction process is key. The missing link to be explored is the representative claim. Studies of governance fail to address the performative aspect of representation. Representation is an act of making claims to represent (Saward 2006). Individuals make claims to represent constituencies and claims can be accepted as representative claims. As Saward explains, 'representations…of self and others in politics do not just happen. People construct them, put them forward, make claims for them" (Saward 2006).

Instead of focusing on the link between the representative and those he or she claims to represent, this article suggests an alternative approach that places the representative claim at the spotlight. Debates of representation dwell institutional make-ups, characteristics of representations, distance between representative and constituency, goal of representation, however, it is time to reemphasize that these studies, despite their importance and relevance, constrain our understanding of representation and overlook the importance of non-electoral representation, cultural and aesthetic representation.

2. Representative claims and recognition

Most studies of representation focus on the concept within traditional governing bodies, but little is known about representation in participatory governance. Representation theorists emphasize the link between the representative and the represented (Pitkin 1972, Phillips 1995, Young 2000, Williams 2000). Since participatory governance arenas are loci for representation, representatives make claims to represent. Saward's frame of reference allows for an understanding of claim-making and how actors make claims, however it is not sufficient to understand why some claims are recognized and others are not. Therefore, another link requires attention: the link between representatives and audiences in which they make claims. This account of 'audience recognition' is also necessary to understand representation. Representative claims are not made in a void, and they will only be representative if recognized by their audiences.

Conventional concepts of representation tend to underplay the process of construction 'what' and 'who' should be represented and 'by whom'. There is a certain assumption that interests are 'out there', presupposing given natural interests of individuals. Saward writes that 'people and things are not vested with meaning without representation' (Saward 2006). As Ernesto Laclau (1996) argues 'representation is a necessary moment in the self-constitution of the totality'. 'A 'maker of representations (M) puts forward a 'subject' which stands for an 'object (O) which is related to a referent (R) and is offered to an audience (A). (Saward 2006)' These claims to represent give momentum to representation (Saward 2006). In this account of representation, the representative claim maker has agency in constructing the object to be represented, rather than the traditional account of representation in which 'the represented' are often taken as agents. Emphasis on democratic norms blinded scholars and practitioners to the agency of actors making claims and agency of actors 'painting the representative picture'. As Hall (1996) stresses, representations create

meaning. Instead of assuming that there are interests out there, realizing that representation needs the momentum of the representative claim is important.

Representative claims do not happen in a void. Saward argues representative claims can carry complex genealogies with historical and cultural context and actors are embedded in cultural and temporal backgrounds (Saward 2006). A representative claim is representative because it creates the link between the subject and the object and gives resonance between the maker and the object. Saward explains that claims can be 'deeply institutionalized'. However, Saward does not emphasize that the background is exactly what allows the claim to be made. A claim is not a claim until it is recognized as a claim. Recognition is key to claim-making since it suggests that the maker realizes the prospect of object-making. A claim such as: 'I (subject) stand in for the wills of my constituency (object)' shows that the subject recognized that he or she are represent or recognized that she or he should make the claim. Moreover, the surrounding audience needs to recognize the representative claim. Claims have a momentum of recognition.

To understand what goes on in representation, one needs to think how representative claims become claims and how they are recognized within this mode of governing. A representative claim within traditional democratic institutions might have been contested on the basis of elections, accountability, party alignment among others. However, within network governance, political representation transcends these basis. As Sørensen sums it:

> "Political representation in a system of network governance can therefore best be understood as a process in which an actor through political battles obtains legitimate right to construct the identity of the represented, and make political decisions with reference to this identity" (Sørensen 2002).

Sørensen explains the challenges that participatory governance poses to understandings of representation. However, this legitimate right that she points to does not refer to legitimacy as of in a democratic system that lays in how institutions perform and how they reflect the will of the people (Chambers 1996). Legitimacy hints authorization, however, the legitimate right is gained through political battles within the network governance arena.

The question of how representation comes into being calls for a shift of reference that focuses on the maker and the audience. Essentially, representation does not depend on democratic norms. Stepping away from elections, responsiveness, accountability, authorization as necessary for representation, one can understand that context makes representation possible, not the concept itself. Representation is descriptive (Rehfeld 2005), visual (Hall 1996), constitutive and performative (Saward 2006). Audience recognition plays a large role in making representation possible. Audiences can recognize representative claims despite institutions or practices of representatives themselves. Discarding this idea would leave us with no explanations for cases of illegitimate representatives being accepted as representatives by their audiences, such as dictators participating at the WTO rounds, as Rehfeld (2006) exemplifies.

This account shifts our attention from democratic norms to rules of recognition that impinge on the representative claim. This makes possible to explain why and how the same audience will use very different rules of recognition in different cases (Rehfeld 2006). Representation therefore, happens when a particular audience recognizes a claim as a representative claim, in spite of the relationship between the claim maker and its object. The relationship between the claim maker and the object might impact how the audience perceives the claim, however, this is another analytical relationship.

3. Representing local people and the cases

There is a proliferation of networks, partnerships and joined-up collaborations at the local level in European cities. These arrangements tend to be composed of representatives of local governments, business and associations of the civil society along with citizens. These public consultations and actor collaboration are often corollaries from initiatives of partnerships, collaborative dialogues and community involvement and support of bottom-up processes Making citizens partners in policy-making, outside traditional representative institutions, brings debates of public participation, citizen engagement and community involvement to centre-stage.

The promotion of public participation and citizen engagement can have different intentions. Many argue that public participation is a response to state's inability to solve complex and wicked problems in contemporary societies (Fischer 1993, 2003), whereas others argue that it is an of bottom-up pressures. Authors argue that involving local people can be a means to reach effectiveness through the use of local knowledge in problem-solving (Stoker 1996). Moreover, Janet Newman (2005) argues that contemporary forms of governing offer solutions to problems of government legitimacy and citizen involvement can potentially solve a range of social problems.

The democratic potentials of citizen and community engagement are often a topic of contestation. Fung and Wright (2003) argue this involvement can deepen democracy, enhance democratic outcome (Hajer 2004) and widen scope for contestation. Others are positive about the democratic wonders of deliberations and collaborations (Dryzek 2000). Moreover, this local people involvement, many authors claim, can support 'community' empowerment, active citizenship and development of social and political capital in European cities (Kearns and Parkinson 1991, Leach and Wingfield 1999, Wilson 1999; Bang and Sørensen 2001). Putnam (1995) has been fierce on showing that communities create sense of trust and unity and how community cooperation is crucial to robust democracies. These allegations have inspired a good deal of authors to elaborate frameworks for evaluating democratic performance in contemporary modes of governing (Leach and Pratchett 2006, Mathur and Skelcher 2007, Sørensen and Torfing 2007, Agger and Löfgren 2008).

Since most established democracies are representative, all the 'buzz' expressions such as community engagement, citizen involvement when put to practice, end up with representatives. Representation, besides the realization of its innumerous problems still is the most common way to manage a democracy. Since not all citizens participate, scholars highlight that 'ordinary citizens' should participate (Agger and Lofgren, 2009). Parkinson's empirical work shows that policy-makers also believe ideal participants should be 'ordinary people' and 'not the usual suspects' (Parkinson 2004). Despite that these arguments belong to a debate of representativeness, rather than representation, it is important to underscore that even citizens are speaking for themselves, standing in for themselves, there is an element of self-representation (Torfing 1999). Representation is more ubiquitous than conventionally perceived.

4. Balsall Heath and Valby

Representatives of local people participate in local governance networks. The work of Michael Saward on the representative claims shows how cultural and temporal background

influence claims (Saward, 2006, p. 308). Studies by Barnes et al. (2004) on public participation in Liverpool and Birmingham, for instance, found that whatever the formal rules, 'informal claims to legitimacy tended to be based on the skills, knowledge and experience of particular members, and/or their claims to "represent" a wider constituency'. In view of that, how are these representative claims made and recognized?

The analysis comprises local participatory governance initiatives in two neighborhoods in two European cities, Balsall Heath in Birmingham and Valby in Copenhagen. The data consists of 19 semi-structured interviews with local governance actors (public administrators, politicians, local people representatives), 12 non-participant observations of neighborhood meetings in a period of 16 months. Local participatory governance is a term that introduces the analytical tool for understanding these decision-making processes that take place within the localities through the involvement of different sectors.

Since little is known about representative claim-making, a qualitative method is necessary. To grasp such a context-bound complex phenomenon, observations and interviews are appropriate (Flyvbjerg 2006). These methods were rewarding to gather rich data material that exposed actors' perceptions in relationship to context in which they occur. Questions and observations focused on representation in local governance and governance arrangements. The main interest is on claims to represent local people, how actors make claims and how these claims are recognized. These neighborhoods were not randomly selected, but they could have been since the goal is not of generalization of construction processes. The goal is nevertheless to illustrate possibilities and conditions of this construction process.

Project in Valby Local Committee

The Valby Local Committee is one of an institutionalized system of local committees in the city of Copenhagen in a neighbourhood of around 50,000 inhabitants. Valby Lokaludvalg was created on an experimental basis for 3 years since 2002. The team consists of elected officials, administrators, service providers such as faith groups, sports clubs, schools and private actors such as housing associations, and citizen representatives. The local committee has been divided into a series working groups, which include covers Planning, Environment and Transport, Culture, Children and Youth and Neighbourhood Plan. The committee's primary tasks are to link and promote dialogue committee's citizens and partners, ensure dialogue with citizens through consultation, ensure coherence and coordination of activities, hold meetings and prepare for consultation in matters which are of particular importance for Valby. The success of Valby Local Committee inspired the city to mainstream this cooperation towards other neighborhoods to mainstream politicians, officials and citizens in a good cooperation and a constructive division of labor.

Valby Local Committee chose to focus on the area of integration in the years 2007 and 2008. Due to the large number of ethnic minorities in some areas of Valby and problems of integration and social cohesion in the 'ghettoes' of the neighbourhood, the Committee started a project that focuses on good experiences of integration and role-models in attempt to inspire others to make an effort towards better integration. In 2007 a integration-network was formed on the initiative of the Local Committee, with the Integration-network along with governing-body representatives getting a representative in the Committee. This initiative further enhances the ethnic representation in the council, according to the documents. The areas with the highest problems of integration, deprived areas within Valby, receive special attention and their own representatives in

the Local Committee. Akacieparken is one of these disadvantaged areas of council housing. The area consists of 75% immigrant population and it has received attention not only from city level mayors but also from the committed local committee. Integration of immigrants and refugees is high on the agenda of Valby due to this deprivation. With an attentive community leader, resident representatives and active citizens, Akacieparken collaborates with the local committee in order to solve integration issues. Bimonthly meetings in the Local Committee of Valby invite service providers, local politicians, local representatives and a representative of Akacieparken.

Balsall Heath Forum

Balsall Heath is an inner city area in Birmingham located within the Sparkbrook Ward in the Hall Green Constituency. Since Birmingham is listed as a deprived city of the UK, the city has received for Neighbourhood Renewals. (Communities and Local Government homepage, 2009) Many of the initiatives at the city level promote collaboration of different sectors. The promotion of governance networks is highly visible in the city with programmes such as "Going local" and 'Local Government Acts" (Birmingham City Council homepage, 2009) that clearly state the promotion of collaboration and join-ups in service provisions. These programmes also aim to invigorate local democracy through various guidelines of consultation and publicity of collaborations. All these programmes highlight the importance of involving the local people.

Balsall Heath has a population composition of 60% Asian minority, 20% Black minority and 20% White. The area is praised due to its recovery from high levels of illegal prostitution, drug-dealing and crime in the past few decades through collaboration that involved public authorities, citizen groups and voluntary associations. Balsall Heath, has been able to maintain this network throughout the years. While the residents are represented through local councillors at the local level, this local governance network of different sectors clearly depends on the involvement of service providers, the community, resident group representatives and active citizens. In Balsall Heath this collaboration consists of the voluntary sector (neighbourhood councils, faith groups), private sector (business owners, small and large enterprises) and public sector (streets, parks, police, health, housing, schools). The Balsall Heath Forum, a voluntary association, has been able to steer the network and has become the hub of collaboration in the neighbourhood with a neighbourhood manager that ensures that service providers coordinate and collaborate with other sectors. The Forum organizes bimonthly meetings and invites service providers, public authorities and local people.

These initiatives that promote community involvement and citizen participation in inner city neighborhoods raise many questions. To be representatives of the local people or community, representative claims are made and even negotiated at these governance network arenas. The term local governance network is used to refer to this collaboration between different actors that produce public policy. Understanding how representation of local people comes into being is important aspect of the dynamics of not only representation, but also of citizen involvement. Representation outside traditional electoral system does not have to be alarming, it should be understood.

The case studies of neighborhoods in Copenhagen and Birmingham show that both cities favor collaboration between different sectors in some areas of policy-making and public participation or 'community involvement' has different meanings in both neighborhoods. Initiatives that encourage collaboration through the inclusion of representatives have guidelines for good

representation but the process of representative claim-making is untouched. Guidelines tend to cover duties of consultation, responsiveness, publicity but nothing about how they become recognized as representatives or gain access.

Understandings of the community vary in different contexts. As Stoker points out (2008, p. 475), it is not always clear what 'community' means. Whereas in Denmark, the word 'kommune' refers to local municipality, the similar rooted word 'community' in the UK usually refers to a smaller group of citizens, hinting to social relationships between group members. Communities can allude to space such as neighborhoods and local areas, but can also allude to peoples such as minorities. Barnes *et al* (2008) stays away from the term community governance because of the ambiguity of the term 'community.' Instead, she prefers to call it 'citizen-centred governance'. This paper refers to a smaller collection of citizens at a more local area within the city and addresses this exact difference in understanding of 'communities' to show how representative claims are made within network governance.

Representation of local people has different pictures according to different understandings of community, neighborhood and groups. Both governance networks have elected politicians participating. But besides this electoral representation, citizens have other representatives. In Valby, local people are represented, besides through the electoral systems, through group representation. Since immigrant and refugee integration is high on the agenda, their representation is important in Valby. The network, therefore, has an 'immigrant and refugee' representative as a partner. Moreover, the deprived area Akacieparken has its own representative in the governance network that represents "Akacieparken' and the 'youth'. In Balsall Heath, the people are represented in different ways. Even though Balsall Heath is super-diverse (Vertovec 2006), ethnic minorities make up almost 60% of the area inhabitants, representation of local people is not separated into minority groups. Representatives are geographically chosen, each few streets have a representative.

Local governance networks that promote involvement of the local people depend on representatives of these people. Griggs and Howarth (2008, p. 67) argues that governance networks are endemically exclusionary. These governance arrangements tints what interests can be voiced and what interests will be recognized as legitimate interests. However, representation goes beyond substantive representation.

5. Representative claims of local people

Responses and statements about representation from interviews and observations did not necessarily follow questions about representation *per se*. Respondents made various representative claims about themselves (internal claims) or about others (external claims). Claims that were explicitly voiced (I 'represent') or implicitly used (He knows the interests of the community). Moreover, claims could be single in nature or multiple, allowing for the fabricating of many objects. Only two out of 20 respondents commented on struggles of representation, one of which is an academic aware of the academic literature. Other respondents paid little attention to conflicts of representation and used the term as unproblematic. Representatives that are tied to elections overall did not alarm practitioners. However, noting that representation is dynamic, much more than prescribed roles in electoral system, is apparent in these community involvement projects. This does not mean that some are pseudo-representatives, rather it highlights the pervasive aspect of representation.

The function representatives are supposed to fulfill impacts the performance of the representation. As Rehfeld (2006) argues, the function is evaluated according the performance that the audience itself decided to expect. Governance network members in both neighborhoods report the goal of the collaboration is to solve problems and involving the community brings resources and knowledge. However, the origin of the problem is different. In Balsall Heath, the motto is: "bring us your problem and challenge us to find a solution.' The philosophy is to solve 'small problems so they don't escalate' (Mustafa, neighborhood warden 2009) and solve problems of low importance (Gerry, housing service provider and Bob, chief executive of Forum 2009). In Valby, the goal is to tackle integration problems.

Actors legitimated the participatory arena as a problem-solving community-involving structure through the creation of a representative structure of stakeholders. Legitimacy of a democratic system is often judged on how institutions perform, but also how institutions reflect the will of the people (Chambers 1996). These arenas attempt to reflect the will of stakeholders. In Balsall Heath, respondents clearly linked legitimacy of the body and their members to elections. However, the details of the elections were superfluous. The citizens and community besides the electoral system are represented geographically. Each few streets have a representative. Resident groups have representatives. The candidates are selected according to dedication, free time and personal relationships with other residents or Balsall Heath Forum stakeholders. Interviewees reported that often streets in Balsall Heath have residents from specific towns in Pakistan living closely. However, resident representatives are not chosen on any base related to ethnicity. Election turnout was not more than 10% in the area (Bob, chief executive of Forum 2009) and the path from resident to resident representative was reported as trouble-free. Elections were used as a mechanism of legitimization that allows the representative to speak for the community. 'If residents have visions and complaints about resident representative, they can run for election and join the discussion' (Bob, chief executive of Forum 2009). This shows that the recognition of representative claim from a resident representative to speak for others comes with the condition of election, despite other conditions such as electoral turnout, access to elections. Some democratic norms, but not many, were used in the acceptance of formal representative.

In Valby, the community is formally represented according to description and perception of social, attempting to mirror the demographic and social fabric of the neighborhood. Besides the formal community representative structures, respondents dwelled with problems of exclusion. In Balsall Heath, interviewees often suggested that the initiatives of involvement attempted to reach the 'excluded'- "If there is a group that isn't included, we send someone out to talk to them, discuss with them, show them how they can be included, and encourage them to play a part, not just in their particular area, but in the wider whole.'(Bob, chief executive of Forum 2009). In Valby, a respondent stated 'ethnic minority women are isolated and do not want to participate…when I sit next them in the schools and do not let them speak Arabic…so they have to speak Danish with me' (Karen, politician 2007). The idea of rescuing the isolated and excluded was present in both projects, but in slightly different manners. Observations show that whereas in the English neighborhood being present in the meetings was a sign of involvement, in the Danish case, internal exclusion, as Young would call it, was problematic. In the latter, to participate meant to be actively engaged in discussions.

6. Claims in action

Claims to represent the community happen more often than participatory governances account for. The process of claim-making is very dynamic, spilling over formal structures. The analysis of the representative claim-making within the audience showed that claim-makers made some claims that were easily recognized, hard to accept or negotiable. The interplay between claims and the audience were conditioned by rules of recognition the audiences use.

Studying claims in action is necessary to understand their process. In some cases, individuals claimed to represent something or someone, in other cases, the participatory governance arena made claims about individuals. Representatives do not have all the control in deciding what to take on, what or who to represent. This process of representing is a negotiable act in which claims can be refuted, accepted or moderated.

Five claims are presented below to show the interplay between claim-making and the audience.

1) Participants at the arena claim Abdi knows the interests of the youth and Somali women in in Valby.
2) Mustafa claims to represent opinions and feelings of residents of Balsall Heath to the participatory arena
3) Bob and Matthew claim Saeeda represents women of Balsall Heath to the participatory arena
4) Resident representative claims residents want more Asian police officers in the Balsall Heath to the participatory arena.
5) Immigrant representative represents immigrants and refugees in the Valby to the participatory governance.

Accepting claims

Claim: Participants at the arena claim Abdi knows the interests of the youth and Somali women in Valby.

A role model from the deprived area of Akacieparken in Valby participates in local meetings as a youth representative. Interviews and observations show that Abdi's representativeness is seen not only substantive (he knows the experience of the youth in the neighborhood), but also descriptive, to use Pitkin's (1967) terms, since he is considered a youngster. In the meetings, this role model is asked to speak on behalf of the youth. However, in two meetings, Abdi was asked to speak on behalf of Somali women. He did answer on their behalf, despite his usual keep-quiet tendencies. Abdi had external representative claims made upon him. Despite his youth role model title and claims such as 'Abdi represents the youth of Akacieparken' (Birgit, Akacieparken representive), the claim was more dynamic and created multiple objects. Saward (2006) explains claims can fabricate multiple objects. This external representative claim fabricated multiple objects such as youth and Somali. . For the audience, his does not only stand in for youth but also for Somalis. Young (2000) could argue that Abdi can easily represent the social perspective of Somali women, not the women themselves. His presence gave participants the

opportunity to use claims on tap. However, this clear problem of group representation shows the exact importance of aesthetic representation within participatory governance arena.

The audience or the arena accepts him to speak for Somali women, and he does indeed speak for them. Since he was nominated as a role model immigrant in the City of Copenhagen, his voice is used as representative Moreover, they accept him because he is seen as Somali. Being young allows him to represent the youth, but being Somali allows him to represent Somali women. The audience accepts him as a member of the qualified set to represent based on the idea that 'it takes one to know one'. Furthermore, since he is a role model, he mirrors the 'good immigrant' idea and the voice the arena would like to empower.

> Claim: Mustafa claims to represent opinions and feelings of residents of Balsall Heath to the participatory arena

Active citizens are accepted as representatives of their neighborhoods if elected as resident representatives. Mustafa, a neighborhood warden works closely to residents. He knocks on residents' doors inviting them to meetings, asks them to sign petitions, goes into residents' homes to help them with daily technical problems and knows shop owners on a personal level. His picture is often portrayed on the Balsall Heath newspaper. He claims to represent opinions and feelings of the residents to service providers. However, he complains the Forum does not allow him and other wardens to sit around the negotiation table. Mustafa and the other wardens stand in the back of the room during neighborhood meetings. 'They (the Forum) do not care about what we have to say. We are not important enough' (Mustafa, neighborhood warden 2009). Mustafa is not recognized as a representative formally because the rules the arena uses do not make him representative. He is a warden and not an elected resident representative.

Activism is a readily available resource that makes representative claims more easily recognizable. During an interview, a neighborhood warden talks about an elected resident group representative and says:

> 'He is very active. We don't need much input... The resident group is constitutionalized, they have got their own chair, their own secretary… Leadership decides which roads whether roads will be better, tidier, cleaner than a road where we can't find that one leader, that one person. So it's always a challenge trying to find that one person.' (Mustafa, neighborhood warden 2009)

This case shows that the formalization of representation through elections became an impasse. Mustafa is 'that one person' however, not recognized as such. The Chair of the Forum and Neighborhood Manager admit the constitutive aspect of representation. 'Resident representatives should represent the area...it needs individual people who will network with each other, get into four corners of the neighborhood, and distil a common neighborhood agenda, a common voice, or common view" (Bob, Chief executive of Forum 2009) According to this function representatives should perform, Mustafa could indeed be a representative. Gerry, housing service provider in Balsall Heath, mentioned: "It takes a great deal of effort and investment to keep these groups motivated and representatives vibrant." If Mustafa is dedicated, keeps motivated and creates a common voice, why is he not seen as a representative? He was hired as a warden and not elected, he is not seen as a formal representative by the arena. Others, however, such as Saeeda, whose case is described later, is seen to represent women, even though she was not elected. This is an example in

which the rules of the audience do not allow the function to be performed because of the own rules. Being a warden deprives him of having a recognized political voice in the negotiations.

Negotiating claims

Rehfeld (2006) argues individuals have to recognize their roles as representatives, however, within claim-making the process is more intricate and some individuals represent without . Claims are negotiable and some individuals are pushed into becoming representatives. When a neighborhood warden in Balsall Heath responded on the questions of resident representatives (Mustafa, neighborhood warden 2009) in the neighborhood, he mentioned. 'Others are not so strong, the chair will need help so we will encourage the residents to come out, we will help that chairperson to do most of the tasks…We try to develop them so hopefully that person will get the confidence and then take over'. This same confidence-building encouragement was also found within politicians. An elected councillor in Sparkbrook was perceived to have acquired skills after being elected. 'He was young, unexperienced but very well-connected…we just wanted him to get elected and then he could learn the skills' (Per, secretary of Balsall Heath Forum). This shows that a push-and-pull negotiation of the representative claim was necessary.

Cases of push-and-pull of representatives show that the participatory governance shares some idea of 'who' and 'what' should be a representative. Whereas the arena sees some individuals as good representatives, these individuals themselves did not necessarily see themselves as representatives. Resources such as being elected, time, availability and personal relationships are important to the recognition of representative claims. The governance arena realized these rules and pushes qualified members (according to their rules) to become formalized, if possible.

> Claim: Bob and Pat claim Saeeda represents women of Balsall Heath to the participatory arena.

Saeeda leads a significant group of women who 'are becoming empowered' (Bob, Chief Executive of Forum). Her involvement and dedication towards involving women in projects in the community has led Neighborhood Manager and Chair to associate her with 'women representation'. Since she is Pakistani like many women in the neighborhood, Saeeda fits the descriptive characteristic, however, as the Chair speaks for Saeeda: 'She says some women are subdued and this is not right…Women are people too and we can achieve a lot if only we talk to each other and become bolder' (Bob, Chief Executive of Forum) Moreover, the representative of women's group, Saeeda is being pushed by the neighborhood managers and other at the Balsall Heath Forum to join the new Respect political party and run for elections. Saeeda responds: 'I love politics…I like to do the work, I like to make things happen and change but I am not interested in becoming a politician' (Saeeda, women's organization leader 2009) This shows a clear conflict of interest between what the chief executive claims the neighborhood does and what he claims she does for the neighborhood. If her views are contrary to the men, as he claims, formalizing her representation as a councilor would certainly mean that her views despite different are preferred. Saeeda is recognized as representative of women by the audience despite that the audience perceives her as different from most women in the group they claim she represents. This representative claim shows that the audience rules and norms impact what can be recognized as a representative claim. The values of the arena are repeated here.

Some representative claims are surprising but accepted, after negotiated. In Balsall Heath, neighborhood warden mentioned he feared that new migrants in the neighborhood didn't have as much representation because they do not have churches in the neighborhood. For him, the 'mosque' represents Muslims in the neighborhood. However, religious groups are not invited to sit at the table during deliberations. If a representative of the mosque would like to participate, he or she probably could by claiming to represent the views of the mosque, as an active member of the voluntary sector. However, a claim to represent a religious group perceived to be so diverse as Islam, would not be accepted. In Valby, faith groups are invited to participate at the negotiations. A "Buddhist Vietnamese man claiming to represent faith groups stepped up and volunteered.' (Karen, politician 2007) This claim was accepted despite that Christians and Muslims make up a larger percentage of residents in the neighborhood. Interviewees showed surprise with the Buddhist representative however, the claim was still accepted. One could allege that the Buddhist representative in Valby is more opportunistic than any Imam or leader at the mosque in Balsall Heath but it is important to note that this Birmingham neighborhood tried to involve citizens and communities independent from ethnic or religious affiliations.

Rejecting claims

Observations in the neighborhoods revealed that some claims are rejected, even if the representative is a formally accepted representative. Both in Balsall Heath and Valby, local people representatives should only voice community issues. Representatives of the local people are not to pursue personal goals within the governance networks. However, what is individual becomes blurred if an individual is clearly a member of a group. This example below shows this point:

> Claim: Resident representative claims residents want more Asian police officers in the neighborhood to the participatory arena in Balsall Heath.

Some representative claims are clearly rejected. During a Balsall Heath Forum meeting, a resident representative rose and made the claim: 'We want more Asian police officers to develop trust in the community" (Ali, elected resident representative 2009). This was a request for more descriptive representation at the Police force in the area, claiming that police officers are white and do not understand Asian communities. The Chair of the Forum instantly answered that 'this is not important anymore and community cohesion is more important' (Aziz, Chair of Forum, 2009). This shows that his claim was not recognized as a legitimate interest of the group. The resident representative, despite being recognized as a legitimate resident representative, did not have his claim 'to know the interests of the Asian group' recognized. Descriptive representation requests were rejected. If local people accept this claim or not, his claim was rejected because of a recent change in understandings of social and race relations of the society that impinges on understandings of the group. Policies of Race Relations, Integration and Community cohesion can impact representative claims. The representative was unequipped of resources to have his claim accepted.

This shows that the acceptance of representative claim in the network arena is fluid and temporal. The UK has recently changed its multicultural polices towards policies of social cohesion that underplays group differences and highlights the importance of civic engagement (Vertovec 2006). This change in rhetoric impinged on what representative claims of the community are acceptable. Some claims have long shelf lives and other can expire.

Claim: Immigrant representative represents immigrants and refugees in the neighborhood to the participatory governance in Valby

In Valby, an immigrant representative was selected through an interview process for an open position advertisement for 'immigrant and refugee representative' on the local newspaper. This representative sitting at the arena should stand for and speak for immigrants, assist in solving integration problems based on the 'it takes one to know one' assumption. Immigrants were not singled out into one category in Birmingham making the 'immigrant' group idea unintelligible for Balsall Heath. However, the immigrant representative is acceptable in Copenhagen. This shows that the understanding of group dynamics impacted the representative claims.

Observations of local meetings show that the immigrant representative rarely spoke for immigrants, having little influence in the network arena. Tareq sits as a representative because his claim to represent immigrants was accepted by the audience in which he made it. If immigrants feel represented by him was not studied but Tariq views the immigrants as many different groups of people, classifying and categorizing them into groups, clearly stating problems of group representation that make him representative. Stakeholders in the governance arena shared this view when asked about integration and tended to speak of immigrants as one group in an unquestionable manner. However, interviewees unpacked different groups of immigrants such as Turkish, ex-Yoguslavian, and Somali. However, treating all immigrants as one group that should be represented was not mentioned to be a problem.

7. Representation and inclusion

If representative claims give momentum to representation and give resonance between the subject and object, how does this impact our understanding of inclusion and exclusion? Does a representative claim that is accepted includes the object? Do rejected claims exclude? Politics of presence (Phillips 1995) and Politics of Difference (Young 2000) have advocated for the inclusion of certain groups but thinking of the dynamic process of representative claim-making problematize what inclusion means.

Some scholars argue these arenas can include more, others fear their exclusionary capacities, however, scholars tend to examine this capacity in terms of who is included and excluded and what they represent. Wagenaar (2006) argues that 'who's in and who's out is a crucial factor in determining the success or failure of collaborative dialogue (Wagenaar 2006). Torfing evaluates democratic anchorage through exploring who is invited to the decision-making arena and who has had their voices heard (Torfing 2008, p.124). Hendricks (2008, p. 1010) considers political inclusion by examining who participates in network arrangements, who is excluded, how and why. These studies are relevant, however they do not show the dynamics of representation.

In Valby, integration of refugees and immigrants is crafted as a problem that needs representation in the governance. However, social cohesion policy does not fret about group representation of ethnic minorities. Interviewees in Valby reported that the area is very diverse and integration of migrants and refugees is high on the agenda. Many of the projects that Valby Local Committee attempt to include immigrants and refugees. Balsall Heath with its large numbers of ethnic minorities did not report that social cohesion and integration were a problem rather, funds for projects concentrate on environment, anti-social behavior and social issues. Whereas in Valby, the problem of integration exists prior to public involvement, the representatives are more contributors

of solutions and representatives of the public should be role models and assist in problem-solving. In Balsall Heath, individuals bring the problems to the networks. The role model and representative role are blurred in Valby, showing that representative claims should be descriptive.

Collaborative arenas raise questions about the quality of deliberations and negotiations. As Sterling (2005) points out, these processes that favor collaboration do not necessarily mean that collaboration is successful. To be successfully included, as Young explains, representatives need to be internally included, not only physically present (Young 2000). Claim-makers use resources to have claims accepted.

8. Conclusion

The discussions of network governance as a threat or as a prospect for democracies have to stress cultural and temporal background of the network actors. Cases show that political cultures and governance network arrangements influence representative claims. Valby involves citizens in a manner of invigorating local democracy and amending traditional representative institutions through representation of social groups. The stage might seem to be open for more actors within contemporary governance however, the concept of representation is still delicate and complex at the same time. Local governance networks actors share views of problems and solutions impacting representative claims and impacting the acceptance and recognition of representative claims. Instead of thinking of representation as roles performed by representatives, representation is a more dynamic process in which representative claims give momentum to representation.

The cases show that acceptance of representative claims comes with temporal and deep contexts. Some groups gain the right to have their own standing representative whose legitimacy is hardly questioned in Valby. This participation of the immigrant representative resembles more of Young's advocacy for Politics of Inclusion, since immigrants are treated as a 'social group'. Moreover, local immigrants bring in 'local knowledge' to contribute to the effectiveness of policy-making. In Balsall Heath, representatives are chosen on a geographic basis. External claims were put forward in picking representatives. In Valby, citizen involvement and local citizen representation was geared towards the development of social capital. Involvement resembles empowerment in this case. In Balsall Heath, involvement is also about developing capital, however, citizen engagement is more geared towards developing political capital finding 'everyday' makers and capacity building.

Representative claims happen unexpectedly. Scholars argue collaborative dialogue that takes place within contemporary governance modes will only be successful if the representative knows the 'rules of the game'. However, this ability to have claims recognized and accepted is connected to resources of claim-makers. Resources such as personal relationships and descriptive characteristics make some claims more readily accepted in Balsall Heath, whereas in Valby the role models and descriptive characteristics were more easily accepted. Political representation is then a complex case of dynamic claim-making. Comprehending how representative claims are recognized brings us to further question inclusion and exclusion.

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